ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED

M368h8
Hosack v.2,pt.1
ary Queen of 1886619
cots and her accusers
STORAGE

PUBLIC LIBRARY
FORT WAYNE AND ALLEN COUNTY, IND.

DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS FROM POCKET

REA
ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

https://archive.org/details/maryqueenofscots2pt1hosa

5460

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

AND HER ACCUSERS

EMBRACING

A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS FROM THE DEATH OF JAMES V. IN 1542 UNTIL THE DEATH OF QUEEN MARY IN 1587

BY

JOHN HOSACK

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

SECOND EDITION, MUCH ENLARGED

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

V, 2, Pt. 1

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCLXXIV

1886619

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

AND

HER ACCUSERS

PREFACE TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

SINCE the first volume of this work was published, the singular discovery has been made that the Queen of Scots was never legally married to the Earl of Bothwell. It is well known that in the previous year—namely, in 1566—he had been married to the Lady Jane Gordon, a sister of the Earl of Huntly, and that before his pretended marriage with the queen he obtained a divorce from his wife on the ground that he was related to her in the fourth degree of consanguinity. But it is now certain that before their marriage they had obtained a dispensation from the Pope's legate in Scotland,[1] and they were therefore legally married, according to the canons of the Catholic Church. It follows that as marriage had been publicly declared to be indissoluble by the canons of that

[1] The second husband of Lady Bothwell was the Earl of Sutherland, and the original dispensation is preserved at Dunrobin.—See the Historical Commissioners' Second Report, p. 177. The true date of the dispensation is not, as there stated, the 13th March, but the 13th of the Calends of March—namely, the 17th of February. This interesting document was discovered by Dr John Stuart, of the General Register House, Edinburgh.

Church,[1] the queen could contract no lawful marriage with Bothwell during the lifetime of his wife.

The question naturally arises, Was Queen Mary aware of the existence of this dispensation, and did she knowingly contract a marriage which, in the eye of her Church, was absolutely and incurably void? Her adversaries will probably answer in the affirmative, on the assumption that her infatuated attachment to Bothwell rendered her regardless of all consequences; and if they could produce any trustworthy proofs of this extraordinary affection, the argument would be strong, if not conclusive. But as no evidence which they have been able to adduce upon this point will bear examination, we must believe that she was ignorant of the existence of this dispensation when she consented to marry Bothwell.

There is one undisputed point in the history of Mary—namely, that throughout her life she was true to her religion; and although she explained to her relatives in France that she had been forced by circumstances to consent to marry Bothwell, there is nothing in her conduct or in her correspondence which indicates a doubt as to the validity of the marriage. We shall find that at a subsequent period she appears to have been made aware of the true state of the case; for, in writing to the Pope in the year 1571,[2] she speaks of the "*pretended divorce*" of

[1] By the famous canon of the Council of Trent of 1563.

[2] Labanoff, iii. 232,

Bothwell from his wife. But the question is, whether at the time she knowingly contracted an invalid marriage.

There were at least three persons aware of the existence of the dispensation—namely, Bothwell, his wife, and Archbishop Hamilton, by whom the instrument had been granted; and it is to be observed that all three were interested in concealing it from the queen. Bothwell had committed an undoubted act of treason in carrying off his sovereign and detaining her a prisoner for upwards of a week at Dunbar, and he would only hope to escape the consequences by inducing her to marry him. We may add that, being a rigid Protestant, he would care nothing either for the Catholic dispensation or the Catholic divorce. He had been divorced from his wife at her suit by the Protestant Consistorial Court, and that was sufficient to satisfy his religious scruples, if any such he ever entertained. It was the obvious interest of Bothwell, therefore, to keep the existence of the dispensation in the dark; and he appears to have purchased the silence of his wife by settling upon her for life, notwithstanding the divorce, her full jointure over his estates.[1] Archbishop Hamilton had the strongest reason of all for keeping the matter secret, for it was he who, as the Pope's legate, had granted the dispensation for the marriage

[1] Douglas Peerage, by Wood, i. 231. She is there described as "a woman of great *prudence*, and enjoyed a jointure out of the Bothwell estate from 1567 to her death in 1629, in the 84th year of her age."

of Bothwell with his wife, and it was he who subsequently pronounced sentence of divorce between them on the very ground that no such dispensation had been granted.

It may be said, and truly said, that it was the duty of the archbishop, as Primate of Scotland, to have acquainted the queen with the existence of this dispensation, and to have informed her that she could not, by the canons of her Church, contract a valid marriage with Bothwell. It is nowhere stated that he made any such communication to her. But a very sufficient reason can be suggested for his silence. We learn from Sir William Drury, the Marshal of Berwick, that the Hamiltons were believed at the time to have done their best to promote the Bothwell marriage[1] with the view of ruining the queen. As the brother of the archbishop was, after her and her infant son, the next heir to the crown, he had an obvious and very powerful motive for keeping secret the fact of the dispensation.

The three principal parties concerned — namely, Bothwell, his wife, and the archbishop—were all therefore strongly interested in maintaining silence; and for these reasons it is infinitely more probable that the queen was kept in ignorance of the dispensation than that she should have consented to a marriage which

[1] "The Hamiltons," he says, "are furtherers of the divorce, hoping to attain the sooner to their desired end."—Quoted from Record Office, i. 321.

she knew at the time was not only absolutely void, but which could not by any possibility be rendered valid.[1]

At page 79 of this volume will be found a letter from the French ambassador in London, M. Paul de Foix, which throws a new light on the policy and practices of Elizabeth's favourite secretary, Cecil. That he was an exceedingly unscrupulous minister is well known to every one at all acquainted with his history; but that he should have set on foot a most wicked calumny, with the deliberate purpose of destroying the reputation of the Queen of Scots, could hardly have been believed by his worst enemies. We find, however, that well knowing that the murder of Riccio had been planned for weeks beforehand,[2] he furnished the French ambassador with a grossly false and slanderous account of the transaction. He informed De Foix

[1] I may state that the remarks on the character of Archbishop Hamilton (p. 91, 92) were written before I was aware of the existence of the "dispensation."

[2] This is clearly proved by the correspondence preserved in the Record Office.

Riccio was murdered on the 9th of March 1566. On the 13th of February previous, Randolph wrote from Edinburgh to the Earl of Leicester, "I know that if that take effect which is intended, David, with the consent of the king, shall have his throat cut within these ten days," &c.—Vol. i. 133.

A few days after the date of this letter, Randolph was ordered to quit Scotland, as he had been detected supplying money to the friends of the rebel lords. He took up his residence in Berwick with the Earl of Bedford.

On the 6th of March, three days before the murder, Bedford and Randolph wrote jointly to Elizabeth that "a matter of no small consequence was about to take place in Scotland. We hope," they added, "that by this means my Lord of Murray shall be brought home without

that Darnley had slain Riccio while actually in the embraces of the queen; and it is clear from his reply that the French ambassador implicitly believed the story. Nothing can more strikingly display the ruthless spirit of hostility entertained by Cecil against the Queen of Scots than his invention of this monstrous calumny, which it was doubtless his intention, through the instrumentality of the French ambassador, to promulgate throughout Europe. As even Riccio's assassins never ventured to make so monstrous a charge against their sovereign, and it cannot be shown that he derived his information from any other source, Cecil must bear the responsibility of the fabrication.

your majesty's further suit to the queen his sovereign, and therefore we have thought it good to stay the sending of your majesty's letters in his behalf."—Record Office, Scotland. They were therefore very confident of the success of the plot.

On the 8th of March, the day before the murder, Bedford and Randolph wrote to Cecil, "Murray is to be at Edinburgh to-morrow—the intention towards a certain person to be executed before Murray's coming."—Record Office, Scotland.

On the 8th of March, Murray, who had been the first to sign the bond for Riccio's murder (see vol. i. 135), wrote to Cecil that "he and the rest of his company are summoned home for the weal of the religion." —Record Office. On the 9th of March Riccio was murdered.

On the 11th of March, Bedford wrote to Cecil that the Earl of Murray and other lords had gone to Edinburgh. He adds, "David is despatched and dead, as I had heard it should be."—Record Office.

On the 16th of March, Bedford wrote to Elizabeth that he had paid £1000 by her desire to the Earl of Murray.

On the 21st of March, Randolph wrote to Cecil that the queen had returned to Edinburgh, and the murderers had fled. He adds, "the king repents of it, and confesses that he was abused."

On the 22d March, Cecil wrote to the French ambassador in London. His letter is not to be found in the Record Office nor in the French archives, where a careful search has been made for it. But from the reply of De Foix, which will be found at p. 79, no doubt can be entertained as to the nature and object of the communication.

We know that the assassins of Riccio had a double object in view—the one was the restoration to power of the banished Earl of Murray and his associates, and the other was the deposition of the queen. From the peculiar nature of Cecil's communication to De Foix, we cannot doubt that if their plans had not been defeated by her spirit and address, it was their intention to depose her on the ground of her alleged criminal intimacy with Riccio, of which they would have been able to produce evidence quite as trustworthy as the notorious "casket letters."

A circumstance connected with these letters has been lately pointed out to me by my friend Mr E. M. Thompson, of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, to whom I take this opportunity of returning my sincere thanks for the assistance he has been on all occasions ready to afford me in the preparation of this volume.

It is well known that the "casket letters" were never subjected to any examination in Scotland and the first detailed account which we have of them is contained in a despatch to Queen Elizabeth by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, the commissioners she had appointed to meet the Earl of Murray at York, and to whom he caused to be shown *privately* the alleged letters of his sister to Bothwell. The original despatch which they sent to Elizabeth after examining these letters is still extant. In it we perceive that various alterations have been

made; but Mr Thompson has discovered that it is still possible to make out all the erased passages, and he has kindly furnished me with an entire copy of the despatch, containing both the passages erased and those substituted for them before it was sent off. It is printed in the Appendix.[1]

It will be seen from several of the erased passages that Elizabeth's commissioners, when the despatch was written, expressed their conviction that the letters exhibited to them were genuine. But something must have occurred to shake their belief before it was sent off; for in it, as finally altered, they carefully refrained from expressing any opinion on the matter, but threw the entire responsibility on the Scotch commissioners.

It is remarkable that they did not think fit to rewrite a paper of so much importance, but it is fortunate for the interests of truth that they did not. What led them to doubt the genuineness of the letters we only can conjecture, but there was one obvious reason which upon reflection might have occurred to them. The letters which Murray produced at York were all in Scotch,[2] yet they were

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] The letters produced by Murray at York have disappeared, and their disappearance is easily accounted for. As they were in Scotch, and declared to be in Mary's own hand, an attempt must have been made to imitate her writing. To have preserved them would have been to preserve conclusive proof of the forgery, for it is certain that they were produced as originals. The language of Elizabeth's commissioners is upon this point clear and explicit: "And these men here do constantly affirm the said letters and other writings which they produce *of her own hand to be of*

written, as he and his associates most solemnly declared, in his sister's own hand. But it is highly probable that Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler, being all men conversant with public affairs, had seen various original letters of the Queen of Scots; and if so, they never could have seen any previous writing of hers in Scotch. They could hardly have been ignorant that French was the language she invariably employed in her private correspondence, and this circumstance was alone sufficient to induce them to pause before committing themselves to any positive opinion.

It may be said that these alterations in the despatch prove nothing beyond the praiseworthy caution of the commissioners. But a private letter was subsequently addressed by Sussex to Cecil which throws much additional light on the matter. From this letter it appears that he then entertained such strong doubts as to the authenticity of Mary's alleged epistles that he did not believe Murray would venture to produce them. The letter of Sussex was dated eleven days after the despatch;[1] and after full consideration, this was the conclusion at which he had arrived. The connection between the altered despatch and the opinion thus finally expressed by Sussex is obvious. They mutually, in fact, explain each other.

The history of the proceedings of Elizabeth's com-

her own hand indeed, and do offer to swear and take their oath thereupon," &c.—See Appendix A.

[1] See his letter, vol. i., Appendix A.

missioners at York may be briefly stated thus: We may conclude, from their despatch as it was originally written, that they at first believed the contents of the casket to be genuine. On reflection they refrained from committing themselves to any opinion on the matter; and they finally expressed, through their colleague Sussex, the strongest doubts as to their authenticity. Yet they recommended, in accordance with the tortuous policy of the age, that Murray should be forced to produce his proofs, not because they believed them to be genuine, but to render the breach between him and his sister final and irreparable. This advice, it is well known, was implicitly followed by Cecil.

Under the head of Appendix B are now printed, for the first time, a variety of letters and documents, thirty in number, originally deposited in the Scots College at Paris, and now in Blairs College, Aberdeenshire. In the same collection there are a number of letters of the Queen of Scots addressed to her ambassador in Paris, James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow. These letters and documents are nearly all in cipher, but they were deciphered with much labour by the late Dr Kyle, and the letters of Queen Mary have been already printed in the valuable collection of Prince Labanoff. The letters now printed were written, not by her, but for the most part by various of her friends and partisans in Scotland, and some of them are highly interesting. I have thought it best to print the whole collection.

and they are now given to the public as they were deciphered by Dr Kyle.

Among the letters now published will be found one from Maitland of Lethington, in which he minutely describes the state of parties in Scotland after he had finally gone over to the side of the queen.[1] But the most important of the series, in a historical point of view, is a correspondence which proves that the Earl of Morton while Regent of Scotland made friendly overtures to Queen Mary, and even offered to do all in his power to restore her to her kingdom. This is a most remarkable fact. Morton, it is well known, had been the most active of all her enemies in Scotland. He it was, in fact, who finally deposed her, and not only charged her with the murder of her husband, but produced against her at Westminster the famous forged letters of the casket. He had subsequently, in the years 1572 and 1574,[2] expressed to Cecil his readiness to have her put to death in Scotland; yet in 1576 we find him professing the most ardent loyalty to the sovereign he had undertaken to murder, and offering to make every sacrifice to restore her to her throne.[3] It was because Mary instinctively recoiled from all dealings with such a man that secret negotiations were not at this time set on foot for her restoration.

It further appears, from a letter written by Esmé

[1] Appendix B, No. 5.

[2] See p. 149 and 184 of this volume.

[3] See Appendix B. Letters of Beaton of Balfour, Nos. 12, 13, and 14; and letter from Lord Ogilvy, No. 19.

Stewart, Duke of Lennox,[1] that it was intended to charge Morton with the murder of the Earl of Atholl. Atholl, it is well known, died of poison. Morton was universally suspected of having caused his death; and we find Lennox desiring Mary's ambassador in Paris to send to Scotland a person whom he names, and for whom he sends a safe-conduct, who, he says, it was ascertained had purchased the poison. But as Morton was not put on his trial for the murder of Atholl, we may assume that this important witness either kept out of the way or did not arrive in Scotland in time. Morton was eventually tried, and convicted of the crime of which he had accused the queen —namely, the murder of Darnley.

The two unfinished sonnets in the handwriting of Queen Mary, a facsimile of which is prefixed to this volume, have never before been published. They are, together with the lines addressed to her favourite poet Rousard, preserved in the Bodleian Library.

[1] See Appendix B, No. 25.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOL. II.

CHAPTER XVI.

RESULTS OF THE INSURRECTIONS OF 1569—NEGOTIATIONS AT CHATSWORTH.

	PAGE
Complaints of Elizabeth,	2
Her grief for the Regent Murray,	3
Parties in Scotland,	5
Randolph in Scotland,	6
Policy of Elizabeth,	8
Invasion of Scotland,	10
Elizabeth excommunicated,	12
Lennox regent,	14
Results of Elizabeth's policy,	16
Proposed negotiations,	17
Elizabeth in Council,	18
Cecil and Mary,	20
Proposals of Cecil,	22
The rebel lords in Scotland,	24
Cecil and Lennox,	27
Opinion of Maitland,	28
Conduct of Elizabeth,	29
Suspicions of Mary,	32
Her enemies in Scotland,	33
Ridolphi,	34
Morton in London,	35
Device of Walsingham,	37
Indecision of Elizabeth,	38
Negotiations broken off,	40

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONSPIRACY OF RIDOLPHI.

Elizabeth and Philip,	44
Ridolphi and the Duke of Norfolk,	46

Their plans, ... 48
Instructions of Ridolphi, ... 50
Letter of Mary, ... 51
Ridolphi and Alva, ... 52
Ridolphi at Madrid, ... 54
The Bishop of Ross, ... 56
Sir John Hawkins, ... 57
And Lord Burghley, ... 59
Their joint scheme, ... 60
Its success, ... 61
Fresh arrests, ... 65
Norfolk in the Tower, ... 66
Prospects of Mary, ... 67
Instructions of Burghley, ... 68
Mary and her keepers, ... 69
Fresh restrictions, ... 71
Mary and her servants, ... 72
Elizabeth and her ministers, ... 75
Treatment of Mary, ... 76
Hostility of Burghley, ... 78
A Christmas gift, ... 80
Buchanan's libel, ... 81
Arrest of the Bishop of Ross, ... 83
The bishop and the Regent Murray, ... 85
The Spanish ambassador, ... 86
Affairs in Scotland, ... 89
Capture of Dumbarton, ... 90
Archbishop Hamilton, ... 92
A Parliament at Stirling, ... 94
Death of Lennox, ... 96

CHAPTER XVIII.

NORFOLK AND NORTHUMBERLAND.

Decision as to Norfolk, ... 99
He is arraigned at Westminster, ... 100
The charge against him, ... 102
Evidence produced against him, ... 104
Opinion of Cecil, ... 106
The mission of Ridolphi, ... 109
Defence of Norfolk, ... 110
Witnesses called, ... 112
Sentence of death, ... 114
Political sermons, ... 116
Execution of Norfolk, ... 117
Debates in Parliament, ... 118
Schemes of Leicester, ... 120

New charges against Mary, ... 121
Her reply, ... 122
Northumberland at Lochleven, ... 124
He is surrendered, ... 126
Parsimony of Elizabeth, ... 128
Confession of Northumberland, ... 129
He is executed at York, ... 131

CHAPTER XIX.

EVENTS IN FRANCE AND IN SCOTLAND.

Parties in Scotland, ... 133
Affairs in France, ... 135
Charles and Coligni, ... 136
Margaret of Valois, ... 137
Schemes of Catherine, ... 138
Coligni is wounded, ... 139
The meditated massacre, ... 141
The king's consent obtained, ... 142
The explosion, ... 144
Its effects in England and Scotland, ... 145
New scheme of Burghley, ... 146
Killigrew sent to Scotland, ... 148
His negotiations there, ... 150
Sudden death of the Earl of Mar, ... 152
Knox and Kirkaldy, ... 154
Knox and Maitland, ... 156
Character of Maitland, ... 158
Death of Knox, ... 162
Morton elected regent, ... 164
His policy, ... 165
Treaty of Perth, ... 166
Advice of Killigrew, ... 168
Siege of Edinburgh Castle, ... 170
Death of Maitland, ... 172
And of Kirkaldy, ... 173
Mary and her keeper, ... 174
Morton and the Crown jewels, ... 176

CHAPTER XX.

THE REGENCY OF MORTON.

Mary visits Buxton, ... 177
Religion of Elizabeth and Mary, ... 178
Presents of Mary to Elizabeth, ... 182
Killigrew again sent to Scotland, ... 183
Confession of Bothwell, ... 186

Don John of Austria, ... 188
His arrival in the Netherlands, ... 190
Leicester at Buxton, ... 192
William the Silent and Don John, ... 194
War in the Netherlands, ... 195
Death of Don John, ... 197
New scheme of Morton, ... 198
His overtures to Mary, ... 199
His unpopularity, ... 201
Atholl and Argyll, ... 203
Murder of Atholl, ... 205
Persecutions of the Hamiltons, ... 206
Esmé Stewart, ... 207
Sir Robert Bowes in Scotland, ... 208
Plot against Esmé Stewart, ... 210
Position of Morton, ... 212
He is accused of Darnley's murder, ... 213
He is arrested, ... 214
Intrigues in his favour, ... 216
Forgeries by Archibald Douglas, ... 218
Evidence against Morton, ... 219
He is executed, ... 220

CHAPTER XXI.

PERSECUTIONS AND PLOTS IN ENGLAND—FRESH TROUBLES IN SCOTLAND.

Persecution of the Catholics, ... 223
Its results, ... 225
Policy of Lord Burghley, ... 226
His prudence, ... 228
The Duke of Alençon, ... 229
John Stubbs, ... 231
Plans of Mary's friends, ... 232
Character of her son, ... 234
Beale at Sheffield Castle, ... 235
Views of Elizabeth, ... 237
Projects of the Duke of Guise, ... 238
Views of Mary, ... 240
Edmund Campian, ... 242
Affairs in Scotland, ... 244
The Raid of Ruthven, ... 246
Arran a prisoner, ... 247
Flight and death of Lennox, ... 248
Death of Buchanan, ... 249
Letter of Mary, ... 250
Her proposals, ... 254
Opinion of the Council, ... 256

French diplomacy, ... 257
Escape of James, ... 258
Attitude of Mary, ... 259
Views of Walsingham, ... 260
He is sent to Scotland, ... 261
Plans of the Duke of Guise, ... 262
Francis Throgmorton, ... 265
Expulsion of Mendoza, ... 266
Arrest of the Earl of Gowrie, ... 268
Gowrie and the casket, ... 270

CHAPTER XXII.

ARRAN AND THE MASTER OF GRAY.

Position of Arran, ... 272
Lord Seton in France, ... 273
Arran and Hunsdon, ... 275
The Master of Gray, ... 277
Fresh negotiations, ... 279
Murder of the Prince of Orange, ... 281
Fresh scandals against Mary, ... 282
The Countess of Shrewsbury, ... 284
Mary quits Sheffield, ... 288
Thomas Philipps, ... 289
The Bond of Association, ... 292
Gray in London, ... 294
His treachery, ... 295
Mary sent to Tutbury, ... 297
Treason of Parry, ... 298
Thomas Morgan, ... 302
Scenes at Tutbury, ... 303
Mary deserted by her son, ... 305

CHAPTER XXIII.

LEAGUE BETWEEN ELIZABETH AND JAMES—INTERVENTION IN THE NETHERLANDS.

Plans of Gray, ... 307
Archibald Douglas, ... 311
Angus and his friends, ... 312
Treaty of Berwick, ... 315
War with Spain, ... 316
Alexander Farnese, ... 317
Fall of Antwerp, ... 319
Leicester in the Netherlands, ... 321

Secret negotiations, ... 323
Sir Amias Paulet, ... 325
Mary sent to Chartley, ... 328

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE BABINGTON CONSPIRACY.

The Council of Castile, ... 330
Schemes of Parma, ... 331
And of Mary, ... 332
Gilbert Gifford, ... 334
The Burton brewer, ... 336
Arthur Gregory, ... 338
Anthony Babington, ... 341
His companions, ... 342
Letter of Morgan, ... 344
Paulet and Philipps, ... 346
Letter of Babington, ... 348
General remarks, ... 353
Walsingham and Gifford, ... 355
Philipps at Chartley, ... 357
Mary's letter to Babington, ... 359
The postscript, ... 369
Letter of Philipps, ... 371
Letter of Gifford, ... 376
Practices of Philipps, ... 380
Arrest of Babington, ... 382
Confession of Savage, ... 384
Wade sent to Chartley, ... 385
Mary's papers seized, ... 386
Her secretaries arrested, ... 389
Their alleged confessions, ... 390
Memorial of Nau, ... 393
Burghley to Hatton, ... 396
Trial of Babington, ... 397
And his accomplices, ... 399
Babington's confession, ... 402
He is executed, ... 403
As are also his companions, ... 405

CHAPTER XXV.

FOTHERINGAY.

The Scottish Catholics, ... 409
Consultations as to Mary, ... 411

Final resolution, ... 412
Elizabeth writes to Mary, ... 415
Mary's answer, ... 416
Burghley and Hatton, ... 418
Mary's protest, ... 421
She accuses Walsingham, ... 423
Burghley and the Crown counsel, ... 427
Appeal of Mary, ... 428
Proceedings in the Star Chamber, ... 430
A Parliament, ... 432
Mary's letter to Elizabeth, ... 436
And to the Duke of Guise, ... 437
Conduct of Paulet, ... 440
Attitude of Elizabeth, ... 444
And of the French king, ... 445
James and the Master of Gray, ... 448
Gray in London, ... 450
Elizabeth and Davison, ... 452
She signs the warrant, ... 454
Correspondence with Paulet, ... 456
The warrant read to Mary, ... 459
Her conversation with Gorion, ... 462
Final preparations, ... 465
The Dean of Peterborough, ... 466
Mary's last prayer, ... 467

CHAPTER XXVI.

RESULTS OF MARY'S DEATH.

Conduct of Elizabeth, ... 470
Her apologies to James, ... 473
And to the King of France, ... 477
Plans of Philip, ... 478
Credulity of Burghley, ... 479
The Spanish Armada, ... 480
Arrives in Calais Roads, ... 482
Is dispersed and defeated, ... 484
Good fortune of Elizabeth, ... 485

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concluding Remarks, ... 488

APPENDIX.

A. Letter of the Duke of Norfolk, &c., to Queen Elizabeth, . 497
B. Letters and papers from the Scots College in Paris, . 502
C. Letters of Henry Killigrew, ... 565
D. Memoir of Bothwell, ... 576
E. Sir A. Paulet to Walsingham, ... 598
F. Gilbert Gifford to Walsingham, ... 602
G. Essay by Queen Mary, ... 604

Sonnets in the handwriting of Queen Mary, preserved in the Bodleian Library, ... *to face page* 1

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS,

AND HER ACCUSERS.

CHAPTER XVI.

RESULTS OF THE INSURRECTIONS OF 1569—NEGOTIATIONS AT CHATSWORTH.

THE two northern rebellions, which during their progress had filled the kingdom with alarm, proved in the end extremely advantageous to Elizabeth. The rapidity with which both were suppressed taught her enemies, as well at home as abroad, that she was much more securely seated on her throne than they had been led to believe; and the condition of the disaffected counties furnished her, moreover, with an additional pretext for the continued detention of the Queen of Scots. In reply to the remonstrances of foreign Powers on behalf of that princess, she could now assert, with some show of plausibility, that she had afforded her a shelter from her enemies, and that the Scottish queen had repaid her hospitality by

stirring up rebellion among her subjects, by inviting foreign mercenaries to invade her kingdom, and by openly seeking to deprive her of her crown.[1]

But these allegations were wholly untrue. Mary would no doubt have been justified in encouraging the rising of the northern lords. Being forcibly detained in captivity, in defiance of all law and reason, she had an unquestionable right to resort to force for her deliverance. But far from encouraging the insurrections in the north, we know that she did her best to prevent them. Being in constant correspondence with the Duke of Norfolk at this time, and acting entirely by his advice, she even sent a messenger to Northumberland to dissuade him from his rash and ill-concerted enterprise ; but, unfortunately for him as well as for herself, without effect.[2]

[1] Instructions to Norris, in Digges, p. 9 *et seq.*

[2] See the examination of Hamelin, a retainer of Northumberland ; Haynes, 595. The same witness stated that "Havers came to the two earls in Topcliffe Park, from the Duke of Norfolk, willing them not to rise, for if they did the duke should be in danger."—Ibid., 596. On the trial of the duke, Richard Cavendish stated that while he was conversing with the duke, shortly before the rebellion, on the subject of his marriage with the Scottish queen, Norfolk turned to him and said, "Cavendish, nothing will undo us but the rising of the northern lords." —State Trials, i. 998. We have further proof that Mary was at this time acting entirely under the guidance of Norfolk. When she was residing for a short time at Wingfield Manor, a house belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury, in the autumn of 1569, a plan for her escape was devised by Leonard Dacre in conjunction with Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley, sons of the Earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Gerard, and other gentlemen of Lancashire. Dacre was to arrange all details at Wingfield, and his friends were to provide relays of horses at stated distances until they reached the Scottish Border. Mary refused to sanction the scheme until she consulted Norfolk, and in consequence of his disapproval it was abandoned. The plan promised to be successful, as Mary was by no means strictly guarded at this time, and Norfolk seems to have set his face against it from purely selfish motives. On the one hand he was jealous of the prominent part which Dacre was to act in

We have seen that previous to his death the position of the Regent Murray had become precarious in the extreme. The party of the queen was, notwithstanding all his efforts, so decidedly in the ascendant, that he had adopted the desperate expedient of seeking that she should be delivered into his hands. What was his purpose we can only guess; and it is worthy of note that Elizabeth bewailed his death in a manner which leads us to suspect that the derangement of some cherished project, through that event, added poignancy and passion to her sorrow. Murray had undertaken to relieve her of her dangerous guest; she had acceded to his terms; and just as the bargain was struck, and a source of intolerable anxiety and peril was about to be removed, she was doomed to sudden disappointment.[1]

the enterprise, and on the other he feared that the Scottish queen might be carried over to the Netherlands, and might there be induced to contract a Spanish marriage.—Murdin, 20, 32, 36.

[1] "Il n'est pas à croire," says Fénelon, "combien la reine d'Angleterre a vivement senti la morte du comte de Murray, pour laquelle s'étant enfermée dans sa chambre, elle s'est écriée qu'elle avait perdu le meilleur et le plus utile ami qu'elle eût au monde pour l'aider à se maintenir et conserver en repos; et en a pris un si grand ennui, que le comte de Leicester a été contraint de lui dire qu'elle faisait tort à sa grandeur, de montrer que sa sûreté et celle de son état eussent à dépendre d'un seul homme."—Fénelon, iii. 54. There is in the Record Office a curious letter from Sir Francis Englefield, a strong partisan of the Scottish queen, to the Duchess of Feria, an Englishwoman, who had married her husband in the reign of Mary Tudor, which may throw some light on the scheme of Elizabeth and Murray, which was abandoned on the regent's death. "The Queen of Scotland," says Sir Francis, "continues prisoner at Tutbury. She had been delivered into James's (the regent's) hands, or worse, conveyed away, if he had not been slain. She was, under pretence of favour, to be carried about to see the country, and take recreation after her long restraint, and by hunting and hawking from place to place brought near to Bristol, where she could have been embarked by force at night; and in the morning her keepers and guard were to make an outcry, and raise the country and pursue her,

In Scotland the death of the regent was lamented only by his own adherents. When the news reached Fernihirst, we learn that the Earl of Westmoreland tossed his hat in the fire in a paroxysm of joy.[1] On the very same night, and doubtless with a headpiece of different materials, he crossed the Border, accompanied by his host and the Laird of Buccleuch. With a formidable array of moss-troopers they swept through Northumberland, plundering and ravaging the country in the most ruthless manner.[2] It was little to the credit of Westmoreland, the representative of the most potent baronial house ever known in England, that he should have joined—if indeed he did not instigate—this destructive foray against his countrymen. But the Tudors were not famed for clemency; and the terrible retribution inflicted on the northern counties after the late rebellion, taught him that he could look for no mercy from Elizabeth. His probable object, therefore, was to involve her in a war with Scotland, in which France or Spain, on political or religious grounds, might be induced to join, with the view of

saying she was run away into France. Then the ship, some say, was to be drowned next night, the master and mariners escaping in a pinnace. The ship was on its way to Bristol when James (the regent) was slain, and was taken by two or three French ships that went to victual Dumbarton Castle, besieged by James's command. This talk comes from London, give it what credit you please."—Louvaine, April 1570.

This seems a strange and improbable story; but it is not so improbable as that Murray should have ventured to bring Mary to Scotland at this time when her partisans were so numerous and powerful. From the language of Murray and Knox it is obvious that they sought her life; and whatever we may think of the tale of the Bristol ship, we cannot but believe that the bargain concluded between the regent and Elizabeth would, but for the bullet of Bothwellhaugh, have been speedily followed by the murder of the Scottish queen.

[1] Hunsdon to Cecil, B. C., Jan. 30.

[2] Tytler, vii. 257.

restoring the ancient faith in Britain. Westmoreland was a desperate man, and it was only by the overthrow of his sovereign that he could hope to retrieve his ruined fortunes.

In Scotland, meanwhile, the exasperation of the rival factions threatened every day to break into open strife. The great bulk of the nobility and gentry were at this time ranged on the side of the queen. In the north, Huntly and his younger brother, Sir Adam Gordon,[1] with the Lord Ogilvie, were masters of the whole country beyond the Tay. In the southern counties the numerous adherents of Chatelherault and Herries far outnumbered the partisans of the infant king. Argyll once more declared for the party of the queen, and her friends held both Edinburgh and Dumbarton Castles. We may add that now, as formerly at Langside, the most prominent of her supporters were Protestants. Chatelherault and Herries, Huntly and Argyll, Kirkaldy and Maitland, and Lord Fleming, the governor of Dumbarton Castle, were all Reformers—a further proof, if proof were wanting, that the tolerant spirit invariably displayed by Mary had convinced the most powerful of her Protestant subjects that their religion was in no danger at her hands.

It required all the energy of the opposite faction to make head against so formidable a combination. But the Earl of Morton, with Macgill, an able lawyer, and Pitcairn, lay abbot of Dunfermline, exerted themselves to the utmost on behalf of the adherents of the late regent. Knox, although declining in health and strength, became more fierce in his denunciations of

[1] His life had been spared after his father's rebellion. *Ante*, vol. i. 88.

the queen the more the number of her partisans increased; and in the towns, his influence, and that of his brethren, was still immense. Among the nobility, the chief supporters of Morton were,—Lennox the grandfather, and Mar the guardian, of the king; with Glencairn, Lindsay, and Ruthven, who represented the more fanatical section of the Reformers.

It had been determined, previous to the death of the regent, to send Randolph to Scotland to conclude the secret treaty respecting the disposal of the Queen of Scots,[1] and although that transaction was now at an end, Elizabeth could find no fitter instrument to work out her policy in the north than her old envoy. Randolph arrived in Edinburgh about a month after Murray's death; and the distracted state of the kingdom, divided by contending factions, and deprived even of the semblance of a Government, afforded him a still more tempting field for the exercise of his mischievous talents than he had ever before experienced. Instead of seeking to reconcile the opposing factions, he did his utmost to render all reconciliation impossible. By bribes and promises on the one hand to the party of the king, and by exaggerating on the other the dangers to be apprehended from the restoration of his mother,[2] he contrived day

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. 511, note.

[2] There was an elaborate minute written by Cecil, about this time, on the foreign relations of England, in which he expresses himself as follows: "The Queen of Scots strength standeth—

"1. By the universal opinion of the world for the justice of her title, as coming of the ancient line.

"2. By the countenance and power of the strongest monarchies of Christendom, who, after the conquests of their own, shall willingly attend to make a conquest for her.

"3. By the secret and great numbers of discontented subjects in this

by day to widen the breach between the rival parties, and to provoke them to open warfare. At a meeting at Dalkeith, Argyll, in the presence of Morton and Maitland, openly reproached Randolph with his treacherous conduct, who, elated apparently with the success of his intrigues, described the scene to Cecil in his own cynical and reckless way.[1] The arrival, however, of a French envoy, M. de Verac, at this time in Scotland, suddenly changed the aspect of affairs. The queen's party, already by far the most numerous, and relying on immediate aid from France, assumed a bolder tone. Chatelherault and Herries, who had been committed to the Castle of Edinburgh by the late regent, and who still remained prisoners, were liberated by Kirkaldy. Randolph, whose intrigues had created the utmost indignation among the partisans of the queen, was compelled to fly to Berwick,[2] where he

realm, that gape and practice for a change by her means, to be rewarded by her.

"4. By the probable opinion of great multitudes, both in Scotland and England, that have an earnest, and, as it were, a natural instinction to have both these realms under one king or head, by means of the said Queen of Scots."—Haynes, 580.

[1] Randolph to Cecil, 1st March; Record Office. Melvill, who was in Scotland at the time, after describing the intrigues of Randolph, goes on to say: "Now, as Nero stood upon a high part of Rome to see the town burning, which he had caused to be set on fire, so Mr Randolph delighted to see such a fire by his craft kindled in Scotland, which was in all probability like to burn it up; and in his letters to some of the Court of England, he gloried that he had kindled a fire in Scotland which could not be easily extinguished. Which, when it came to the knowledge of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, he wrote to my brother Sir Robert and me, advertising us how we were handled, expressing his detestation both of Secretary Cecil, director, and Mr Randolph as executor. All the honest men in England were sorry at it, *of which number there are as many within that country as in any other*," &c. —Memoirs, 109.

[2] Tytler, vii. 268.

had sought refuge four years before for a similar cause; and a convention of the whole nobility was summoned to meet at Linlithgow, to deliberate on the affairs, and to provide for the government of the realm.

Justly alarmed at the discomfiture of Randolph, and the defiant attitude assumed by the adherents of the queen, Cecil and his mistress saw that unless they were prepared to abandon the policy which they had pursued in Scotland during the past ten years, immediate steps must be taken to counteract the influence of France, and to maintain the party of the infant king. Diplomacy had been tried in vain, and a resort to arms would probably involve an immediate war with France. But circumstances at this time gave Elizabeth and her ministers a plausible pretext for accomplishing their purpose without a formal declaration of hostilities. The marauding expedition of Fernihirst, Buccleuch, and Westmoreland had been wholly unprovoked, and, under the pretence of punishing its leaders, it was determined to crush the chief supporters of Queen Mary in the south of Scotland. Sussex and Scrope, who commanded in the northern counties, had still a large force at their disposal, collected from all parts of the kingdom, to guard against any fresh rising in that quarter; and they were ordered to cross the Border at different points and inflict summary vengeance on the Scots. The proceeding, like many others in the reign of Elizabeth, was altogether anomalous. A proclamation, very artfully framed for the occasion, was issued in the name of the English Government. The real object of the expedition was declared to be the punishment of the English rebels, who, sheltered by Border outlaws, had traitorously

invaded their own country. It was only against her own subjects, and those who, in breach of the treaties between the two countries, aided and abetted them in their treason, that the arms of the Queen of England were to be employed. She therefore emphatically disclaimed all hostile intentions against the people of Scotland, and, in proof of the assertion, she appealed to "the wise, noble, and godly" of that realm. She reminded them how, ten years before, she had rescued them from the tyranny of France without seeking the smallest recompense for all the sacrifices she had made on their behalf. All reference to the state of parties in Scotland was carefully avoided in this very able document. There was no allusion to the peculiar position of the queen, and the authority of her son was neither rejected nor recognised. Elizabeth, in short, had no quarrel with any one except with her own rebellious subjects, and with those who, in defiance of treaties, protected and maintained them in rebellion.[1]

But the language of the English queen, however plausible, deceived no one. Mary saw clearly that the ruin of her friends in Scotland was the true object of the expedition, and she earnestly besought the King of France to interfere in her behalf. She truly described the intended invasion as having been determined upon "to defend and strengthen her rebels, and to oppress and ruin, so far as possible, her good and faithful subjects, under colour of recovering the English rebels who had fled to Scotland."[2] Fénelon, who knew that the partisans of Mary had never been so

[1] Bannatyne's Memorials, 35.

[2] See her letter to Fénelon; Labanoff, iii. 38.

numerous and powerful since her deposition,[1] was entirely of the same opinion; and he remonstrated energetically with Elizabeth against the projected expedition, and even hinted at the probable interference of France if an English army crossed the Border. At this threat Elizabeth affected to be highly indignant; but she denied that she cherished any hostile intentions against the Queen of Scots, and, in the language of her proclamation, repeated with all solemnity that her sole object was the punishment of her rebels, and of those who had abetted them in their treason.[2]

About the middle of April, accordingly, Sussex entered Teviotdale with an army of 7000 men. The inhabitants fled on his approach, and he forthwith proceeded to lay waste to the country with a deliberation unknown before in Border warfare. Twenty-two years had elapsed since a hostile English army had crossed the Cheviots, but even the havoc committed by Somerset fell short of that which now converted into a desert nearly the whole valley of the Tweed.[3] Sir John

[1] On the 31st of March, Fénelon wrote to Charles IX. that only four of the principal nobility of Scotland were opposed to the queen. These were probably Lennox, Morton, Mar, and Glencairn.—Dépêches, iii. 105.

[2] Fénelon, iii., and Digges, 9.

[3] We have from Robert Constable, the spy who accompanied the expedition, a detailed account of its progress. He says they entered Scotland on the 17th of April, "and did burn and spoil all along the river Rule and the water of Cale, and encamped that night at Jedburgh. The next morning he (Lord Sussex) marched to Fernihirst, and overthrew it; and so burned and spoiled all along the river of Teviot; and so to Hawick and burned and spoiled it. The next day he overthrew the strong house of the Lord of Buccleuch, called Branksome, and thence to Bedrule, a house of Sir Andrew Turnbull, and overthrew it; and divers other notable towers and houses all along those rivers aforenamed. The next day we retired to Jedburgh, where we encamped again. The next morning we dislodged and burnt all the country

Foster with another force invaded the eastern Border; and Lord Scrope, Warden of the Western Marches, crossed the Esk, and advanced towards Dumfries with 3000 men. On the eastern Border there was no attempt at resistance. The people retired to the moors and morasses with such articles of property as they could carry along with them, and the torch and the axe were unsparingly applied to their habitations, whether in town or country. But the Maxwells, Johnstones, and other Border septs, mustered in sufficient force to attack Lord Scrope—but for which incident Dumfries must have shared the fate of Hawick and Jedburgh. As it was, Scrope was content, after repelling the attack, to make the best of his way back to Carlisle, carrying off with him all the sheep and cattle of the district upon which he could lay his hands.[1]

Having committed herself thus far, Sussex,[2] as well as Cecil and Bacon, strongly recommended Elizabeth to declare openly for the party of the young king. But in spite of all their efforts, she still affected to regard Morton and his friends as rebels; and still assured the French ambassador that she was not at war with Scotland,[3] but had only punished the Border outlaws,

along the river of Bowbank, and burnt and spoiled the whole country as we marched; and came back that night to Kelso. The number of the towns and villages by estimation was above 500."—Constable to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 5th May 1580; Lodge, i. 508.

[1] In a letter to Cecil, he says that Simon Musgrave, whom he had appointed to command his horse, was attacked near Cockpool by Lords Maxwell and Carlisle, and the Lairds of Holmends, Closeburn, Lagg, Hempsfield (Amisfield), Cowhill, and Tinoll (Tinwald), who, with the number of four hundred horsemen and six hundred footmen, "charged them very sore." He adds that Musgrave held his ground until he was able to come up to his assistance.—Cabala, 176.

[2] See his letters in Record Office of 23d April to Elizabeth and Cecil.

[3] Fénelon, 3d May 1580; iii. 133.

who were the enemies of both countries; and that she had both the wish and the intention to restore Mary Stewart to her throne. There were two incidents, however, which happened about this time to throw her into a state of extreme excitement and irritation against the Scottish queen. The first was the appearance of the "Defence of Queen Mary's Honour," by the Bishop of Ross,[1] in which the most serious charges were made against Elizabeth and her ministers; and the second was the publication of the bull of Pope Pius V. against the Queen of England, a copy of which was found on the 15th May affixed to the gate of the Bishop of London's house.[2] Although the thunders of the Vatican could no longer, as in the days of Hildebrand or of Innocent III., shake the proudest thrones in Christendom, Elizabeth felt the blow as a deep indignity; and the more so, as she strongly suspected that it was in reality inflicted by her rival. To be publicly branded as an excommunicated heretic, and to be henceforth regarded as such by all true Catholics, was gall and wormwood to a princess who was only a Protestant from necessity, and whose hatred of innovation and love of arbitrary power, but for the accident of her birth, would certainly have inclined her to the ancient faith. It was soon discovered that the copy of the bull had been affixed on the Bishop of London's house by an enthusiast named Felton, who, according to the fashion of the age, was

[1] The bishop asserted, as Mary herself had emphatically declared, and as even Elizabeth believed, the letters produced by Morton at Westminster to be forgeries.—See his "Defence of Queen Mary's Honour," by John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, in Anderson's Collections.

[2] Camden, 125.

first barbarously tortured, and afterwards tried and executed as a traitor.[1]

The irritation produced in the mind of Elizabeth by the Papal bull and the publication of Bishop Leslie's book, was artfully inflamed by Cecil and his colleagues. The work of crushing Mary's friends in Scotland had only been half done. Although signal vengeance had been taken on the Borderers, Westmoreland, Dacre, and other of the English rebels, had found a new refuge with the Hamiltons, who, jointly with their guests and the other partisans of Mary, were gathering up their strength for a fresh effort. It had become necessary therefore, Cecil assured his mistress, that a fresh inroad should be made into Scotland to chastise the Hamiltons and defeat the schemes of the English rebels. Elizabeth, smarting under the indignities to which she believed — or affected to believe—the malice of her rival had subjected her, was induced to consent; and an army under the command of Sir William Drury marched from Berwick to Linlithgow, where Mary's adherents were assembled, and who at the time were unprepared for this fresh attack. Chatelherault, with Westmoreland, fled to the Highlands; and, in obedience to his orders, Drury levelled to the ground the houses of the duke at Linlithgow and Kinneil. His lands and those of his kinsmen were laid waste in the most approved fashion, and Cecil boasted that the Hamiltons "had never had such losses in all the wars betwixt England and Scotland these forty years."[2]

During all this time Scotland was still without a

[1] Camden, 128. [2] Cabala, 178.

Government; but Lennox, the hereditary enemy of the Hamiltons, had accompanied Drury in his expedition to Linlithgow, and had exerted himself to the utmost in promoting the work of vengeance. He wrote exultingly to Cecil describing the havoc he had witnessed, entreated him to give orders for assaulting Dumbarton Castle, and begged a little money for himself.[1] Randolph, who knew well the pliant and servile nature of the man, had already pointed him out as the most eligible candidate for the regency; and at a convention held at Edinburgh on the 12th of July, Lennox was accordingly elected to that office by the chiefs of the king's faction. Kirkaldy, who held the castle for the queen, might have laid the Tolbooth in ashes while the election was going on. But he contented himself by refusing to be present, although he was formally invited, and by forbidding any guns to be fired on the proclamation of the new regent.[2] There were only four earls present on the occasion—namely, Morton, Mar, Glencairn, and Angus, who was still a minor. The Hamiltons, the Gordons, and the Campbells, with all their following, not only stood aloof, but declared that they would hold a Parliament in the queen's name at Linlithgow on the 4th of August, and that they would never acknowledge the authority of the new regent.[3]

War between the rival factions was now inevitable, and the attitude of the queen's adherents now con-

[1] Tytler, vii. 270.

[2] See letter of Maitland to Archbishop Beaton; Appendix B.

[3] Instructions by Lennox to Nicolas Elphinstone, July 23; Record Office.

vinced Lennox that without help from England it would be impossible for him to maintain his post. Huntly was at Aberdeen in the midst of his vassals, and in daily expectation of supplies from France. Argyll and the Hamiltons were mustering in the west; and the whole of the Border chiefs, from Berwick to Dumfries, were burning for revenge. Sussex, who still commanded in the north, knew—or at least believed—that the triumph of the queen's party in Scotland would prove most dangerous to his mistress. As one of the commissioners at York, he had pointed out that if the Scots united in demanding the restoration of their queen, Elizabeth could not but comply. He had therefore recommended, in the supposed interest of England, that every means should be taken to prevent a reconciliation between the Scottish factions; and we have seen that both at York and at Westminster[1] his Machiavellian advice was followed to the letter.

When, therefore, at this juncture he received orders to ravage the west Borders "very secretly,"[2] under the pretext that Leonard Dacre was concealed in that quarter, he well knew the object of his superiors. In consequence of the resistance which Scrope had met, the west Border had suffered comparatively little in the recent invasion; but, in obedience to his orders, Sussex speedily redressed the balance between it and the east. Marching from Carlisle with 4000 men, he advanced rapidly to the neighbourhood of Dumfries, destroying every castle and place of strength on the Scottish side, and returning to his quarters on

[1] See his letter to Cecil; vol. i., Appendix A.
[2] Draft by Cecil, July 26; Record Office.

the sixth day after his departure. Lennox, meanwhile, had not been idle. Accompanied by Morton, he marched against the queen's forces in the north, and it speedily became apparent that humanity was not one of the virtues of the new regent. Having succeeded in capturing Brechin Castle, he forthwith ordered thirty-four men of the garrison to be hanged in front of his own house.[1]

It is impossible to condemn too strongly the perfidious policy of Elizabeth in Scotland during the six months which followed the death of the Regent Murray. At that time the whole country desired the restoration of the queen. If we are to believe Maitland, Knox alone was opposed to her return. But Elizabeth, at the instigation of her ministers, had committed a great crime. She had induced, by friendly messages and promises of aid, her nearest kinswoman to seek a refuge in her dominions from her enemies, and in defiance of every principle of honour and humanity, she had confined her in a prison. After inflicting upon her so grievous a wrong, could she with safety restore her to her throne? Cecil and his colleagues replied emphatically in the negative; and the fears and the remorse of their mistress were instruments upon which they worked incessantly, to bend her to their purpose. Hence Randolph was sent down to Scotland to kindle afresh the flames of civil war; hence Sussex, Scrope, and Drury were let loose against the partisans of the Scottish queen; hence Lennox was appointed regent, and the whole country from north to south presented one dismal scene of anarchy and bloodshed.

It was not to be expected that Mary should remain

[1] Spottiswoode, ii. 37; Correspondence of Randolph in Record Office.

an unmoved spectator of the wrongs and sufferings of her country; and her energetic appeals to the Kings of France and Spain at length induced Elizabeth to pause in her career of treachery and violence. There were strong reasons why the remonstrances of Charles IX. should not be disregarded. In the first place, a fresh treaty, destined soon to share the fate of its predecessors, had been concluded between the Huguenots and the Catholics at St Germains;[1] and about the same time the Duke of Anjou, the favourite son of Catherine de Medici, had been induced, much against his will, to make an offer of marriage to Elizabeth. What her real sentiments were on the subject, it is impossible to say; but that she was flattered by the proposal is certain, and the friendly intercourse thus opened up between the Courts led eventually to negotiations being commenced for the restoration of the Scottish queen.

It was impossible, indeed, that this concession to the public opinion of Europe could be longer delayed. Elizabeth had virtually declared, at the termination of the Westminster conferences, that the Queen of Scots was guiltless of the charges brought against her by her rebellious subjects. No proof was ever offered that she had directly or indirectly encouraged the insurrections in the north, yet under one pretext or another she was still detained a prisoner.

When the question of her restoration was first mooted in the Council, the project was vehemently opposed by the Lord Keeper Bacon, who bluntly declared that, rather than allow her to be reinstated by the aid of France, he would cut off her head with

[1] On the 8th August 1570.

his own hands.[1] Language so strong was rarely heard at the council board, except from Elizabeth herself. But the licence in which she was wont to indulge did not extend to her ministers, and she sharply rebuked the Lord Keeper for a sentiment which foreshadowed only too truly the final doom of the Scottish queen. Cecil, although too discreet to offend his mistress by any unseemly show of violence, was, if possible, still more hostile to the project than his colleague. But the Lord Keeper and the Secretary were opposed in the Council by Arundel and Leicester—by the former from real sympathy with Mary, and by the latter from subservience to the presumed wishes of his mistress. Elizabeth was as usual perplexed amidst the conflicting opinions of her ministers; but, whatever may have been her true sentiments on the subject, she had committed herself too far in her correspondence with the Duke of Anjou to recede from her promises to the French ambassador; and it was finally determined, to the great disgust of Cecil,[2] that negotiations should be commenced with the view of replacing the Scottish queen on her throne.

It is worthy of note that, amid the warm discussions which preceded this decision, not a word was said by the enemies of Mary respecting her alleged complicity in the murder of her husband. It is obvious that if they could have relied upon the evidence produced at Westminster, a ready answer might have been furnished to all the representations of the French ambassador on her behalf. But we have seen

[1] Fénelon, iii. 181.

[2] "Sir Walter Mildmay and I are sent to the Scottish queen. God be our guide, for neither of us like the message."—Cabala, 179.

that, in spite of all his efforts, the contents of the silver casket had been persistently withheld from him.[1] All allusion to the subject, therefore, was carefully avoided by Elizabeth and her ministers; and instead of now accusing her of the murder of her husband, they shifted their ground, and alleged as the cause of her continued detention her complicity in the northern rebellions.[2] We have already stated that not only does no proof of this complicity exist, but that she, for very sufficient reasons, disapproved of the rash and ill-timed rising of the northern lords.

Elizabeth would intrust the conduct of the proposed negotiations to no one but to Cecil, and it was with much misgiving that he set out for Chatsworth to confront the woman he had so deeply wronged. But he had long persuaded himself that she was the mortal enemy of his mistress and his religion, and that her downfall was essential to the security of both. He was at length about to meet this dreaded adversary, who, although a fugitive and a prisoner, was formidable still, perhaps more formidable than ever. As to the real intentions and wishes of his mistress, he was wholly in the dark. It is indeed most probable that, independent of her relations with the French Court, she was at this time sincerely anxious to get rid of her dangerous guest.[3] She knew that her ministers

[1] See vol. i. 478.

[2] See Instructions to Norris, in Digges, 9.

[3] Catherine de Medici seems to have clearly understood the true state of the case. She plainly told Walsingham about this time that she knew it was not Elizabeth, but her ministers, who were responsible for the harsh treatment of the Queen of Scots; "and therefore," she added, "in wishing her liberty, I do it as much for the queen your mistress's quietness' sake as for any other respect, which without her liberty can

were of a different opinion; but she knew, besides, that in the eyes of Catholic Europe the responsibility and the odium of Mary's detention rested upon her. However she might dissemble to the world or to herself, she knew that her treatment of her cousin was wholly indefensible, and she would now have gladly escaped from the labyrinth in which she found herself involved.[1] But the effort was made too late. Her ministers had induced her, against her better judgment, to make a prisoner of the Scottish queen, and that false step once taken she struggled against its consequences in vain. Although she would have purchased back her peace of mind even by the unconditional freedom of her rival, there were influences at work, as well in Scotland as in England, which rendered that result politically impossible. Henceforth the two queens were to be involved in a struggle of life and death—a struggle which neither had sought, but which neither could now avoid, and in which, from its very nature, success was perhaps even more to be dreaded than defeat.

Cecil, accompanied by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Walter Mildmay, reached Chatsworth in the beginning of October; and it is much to be regretted that the secretary to whose unwearied industry history is so much indebted, has left no record of the

hardly grow unto her."—Letter of Walsingham, 28th August 1570; Digges, 7.

[1] Sir Walter Mildmay, who accompanied Cecil to Chatsworth, after enumerating the dangers arising from the detention of the Queen of Scots, concludes thus: "Finally, it is said that the queen's majesty, of her own disposition, *hath no mind to retain her, but is much unquieted therewith*, which is a thing greatly to be weighed."—Collection of records appended to Burnet's Hist. of Reformation, ii. 339, edit. 1715.

impressions produced upon him by this interesting visit. We learn, however, from another source, that even he was not proof against those indescribable powers of fascination which all men, and even all women, seem to have felt in the presence of the Scottish queen. The cold-blooded politician not only expressed a most favourable opinion of her mental qualities and disposition, but even ventured to speak with secret approval of the Norfolk marriage, although it was absolutely necessary to keep the matter in the background for the present.[1] What amount of sincerity was contained in these professions it is impossible to say; but we cannot doubt that Mary sought at this time to produce a favourable impression on Elizabeth's most powerful minister; and when we bear in mind that she was not yet twenty-eight years old, with her beauty still undimmed, and with reviving hopes of freedom to stimulate her efforts, it would have been remarkable if she had altogether failed.

But although ready to make any concession compatible with honour to obtain her liberty, Mary convinced Cecil at the outset of the negotiations that the monotonous existence to which she had been condemned for the last three years had in no degree weakened her powers of intellect or tamed down her independent spirit. Before Cecil's arrival it had been proposed, as a preliminary step, that Edinburgh and Dumbarton Castles should be placed in the hands of Elizabeth; but Mary replied at once that she would listen to no such conditions. She was in the Queen of England's power, and she might do with her what she pleased; but never should it be said that she had

[1] Bishop Ross to Norfolk, Oct. 11; Record Office, Mary Queen of Scots.

brought into bondage the realm of which she was the lawful princess.[1]

Cecil did not venture to renew this offensive proposition, but proceeded to submit certain articles for the acceptance of the captive queen, the most important of which we shall shortly lay before the reader.

The treaty of Edinburgh, artfully framed by Cecil himself, ten years before, for the express purpose of excluding Mary and her descendants from the English succession, had never yet, for obvious reasons, been ratified by her. Cecil had overreached himself in his anxiety to gain his point, but he now consented to the removal of the words which would for ever have barred the claims of the house of Stewart. He proposed, instead, that Mary should not be barred from any right or title that she had, "if God shall not give to the queen's majesty any issue of her body."

In assenting to this alteration Mary suggested that instead of "any issue," the words "any lawful issue" should be inserted.[2]

Whether this was a piece of feminine malice on the part of Mary, the temptation to give vent to which was under the circumstances too strong to be resisted, or whether it was prompted by the indiscreet zeal of the Bishop of Ross, who, along with Lord Livingstone, was allowed to attend her at Chatsworth during the negotiations, we do not know. But the insinuation that Elizabeth had, or might have, illegitimate children, was highly imprudent on the part of either. "It was made with no good intent," was the shrewd remark of Cecil. He nevertheless consented to make the required

[1] Randolph to Sussex, 14th August; Record Office.
[2] Haynes, 608.

alteration,[1] most probably from the conviction that his refusal might have enabled the friends of the Queen of Scots to assert that the imputation against her rival was well founded. We may venture to add, with reference to this delicate topic, that the Catholic scandals against Elizabeth seem to have no better foundation than the Protestant scandals against her rival. That both queens should be mercilessly assailed by the shafts of calumny was, in a rude and fanatical age, a penalty inseparable from their history and position. If, on the one hand, the grotesque partialities, which Elizabeth was in the habit of displaying towards her favourites, even in public, naturally gave rise to the grossest imputations; so, on the other, the murder of Darnley and the Bothwell marriage were incidents in the life of Mary never to be forgotten by her enemies; and that Philip[2] and his Council should lend a willing ear to every scandalous tale about the Queen of England was as much to be expected as that Knox and his disciples should assert that the Queen of Scots was guilty of every crime. The diplomatists of France and Spain formed a more charitable, and probably a truer, estimate of the private characters of both queens. Fénelon, himself a Catholic and by no means prejudiced in favour of Elizabeth, for no one has better described her systematic double dealing, acquits her in

[1] Cecil, instead of the words proposed, inserted, "by any lawful husband."

[2] Philip made an allowance of six crowns a-day to a young Englishman who arrived at Madrid in the year 1586, who called himself Arthur Dudley, and asserted that he was the son of Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester. He was then said to be about twenty-seven years old. But beyond his own assertion we have no proof of the truth of his story.—See Ellis, 2d series, iii. 136.

the most explicit terms of all impropriety of conduct.[1] Castelnau, who was well acquainted with the English Court, has expressed himself to the same effect; and, stronger still, perhaps, than the positive testimony of Fénelon and Castelnau,[2] is the absolute silence of the Spanish ambassadors De Silva, D'Espés, and Mendoza, the two latter of whom were compelled to leave England in consequence of the discovery of their intrigues, and who were both on that account animated by the most intense hostility against Elizabeth.

Another important point of discussion between Cecil and the Scottish queen arose from the flight of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland into Scotland on the suppression of their rebellion. The secretary required that the two noblemen, along with the other English fugitives, should be delivered up. But to this demand Mary refused her assent in terms at once conciliatory and dignified. "The Queen of Scotland," she replied, "cannot think that it may stand with her honour to deliver those who are come for refuge within her country, as it were to enter them in place of execution." She therefore earnestly besought her sister to grant them her pardon; and if that were not to be obtained, she engaged that within a given time the fugitives should quit Scotland. Cecil, according to his instructions, insisted upon the unconditional surrender of the rebels; but Mary, although prepared to yield much for the recovery of her liberty, adhered to her resolution. She courteously but decidedly refused to give up to certain death the men who had sought

[1] "De tout qu'en sa court l'on ne voyt, qu'ung bon ordre; et elle y etre bien fort honorée et ententive en ses affaires," &c. — Fénelon, March 6, 1571.

[2] Castlenau Mem.

refuge in her dominions, for the reasons already given, and, she added, "for many more that may be better conceived than put in writing."[1]

But the most important of all the articles proposed by Cecil was the delivery of the Prince of Scotland into the hands of Elizabeth for his nurture and education. It was further proposed that the prince should be accompanied by certain Scottish lords, to be named by the Earl of Lennox and the Earl of Mar, and that the Queen of England should bind herself "that to her uttermost he should be favourably used and treated, and to all purposes as her majesty's nearest kinsman."[2]

It appears that the Duke of Norfolk was privately consulted respecting this project, and he strongly disapproved of it.[3] Fénelon was of the same opinion, and expressed it in very decided terms.[4] But in this instance Mary was induced to act in opposition to the advice of her friends, perhaps because she saw that unless she yielded to Elizabeth on this important point, all hope of a reconciliation was at an end; perhaps because on reflection she concluded that the life of her son was at least as safe in England as among the turbulent nobles of her native land. There was, perhaps, a stronger motive still, the yearning of the mother to see her only child, from whom she had been separated for upwards of four years. In one of her

[1] Haynes, 615. [2] Ibid., 610.

[3] According to the deposition of Higford, one of the duke's retainers, the Bishop of Ross wrote to Norfolk on the subject. "But," he says, "as to these two points touching the delivery of her son, and the yielding up of certain castles and holds, my lord's advice was, that the Queen of Scots should in no wise consent either to the one or the other."—Murdin, 84.

[4] See his letter to Mary of 14th Nov. 1570; iii. 367.

replies to Cecil the warmth of the maternal instinct contrasts significantly with the cold language of diplomacy. "The queen's majesty of Scotland desires *most instantly* that she may see her son, whom she has not seen this long time."[1]

In addition to the surrender of her son, Mary agreed that a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, should be established between the two kingdoms; that all foreign troops should be sent out of Scotland within a month after the treaty was signed; that commissioners should be appointed to inquire into the disorders committed on the Marches; that measures should be taken to punish the murderers of Darnley and of the Regent Murray; and finally, she agreed not to contract marriage with any subject of England without the consent of the queen, nor with any other person without the consent of the States of Scotland.[2]

The terms thus proposed for the restoration of the Scottish queen were, under all the circumstances, not more stringent than might have been anticipated. The very harshness of the conditions seemed to furnish evidence of Elizabeth's sincerity, and the proceedings at Chatsworth were watched in Scotland with the utmost interest. The party of the queen, which, notwithstanding the destructive invasions of Sussex and Drury, was still the most powerful, anticipated a speedy triumph over their enemies; while the new regent and his adherents regarded with just alarm the prospect of her return to Scotland. He seems at the commencement of the conferences to have addressed Cecil on the subject, for we find the latter, on the 13th of October, assuring the regent

[1] Haynes, 615. [2] Ibid.

that there was no immediate cause for anxiety. He added that he had undertaken the mission to Chatsworth "much against his heart," and that "all he had done touching Scottish affairs was under protestation that it should be in the power of those whom the queen and regent should send in commission to *change, diminish, or augment the articles at pleasure.*" He therefore recommends that he should send some persons to represent him in England, "taking care that the persons he chose were constant and firm, and such as would not be won from him *nor from the cause.*"[1] It would appear from this letter that Mary had been discussing entirely in the dark the terms of her restoration. The two queens were the only parties to the articles produced by Cecil.[2] In the discussions to which they gave rise, no other authority was referred to, nor indeed could any other have been recognised by Mary. She had still to learn that the treaty which she had signed might yet be set aside by her enemies in Scotland, who, Cecil well knew, would not fail to avail themselves of the opportunity thus considerately afforded them.[3]

[1] Spottiswoode, ii. 143.

[2] The mode of their final ratification was distinctly provided for, as follows: "The contracts of the promises to be first conceived and concluded in writing, and with the hands and seals of *both the queens*, or of sufficient commissioners' hands, thereto authorised, as is accustomed between princes."—Haynes, 612.

[3] Mary signed the articles on the 16th of October 1570; and to these, as we have said, the only parties were the Queen of England and herself. But there follows a paper by Cecil bearing this ambiguous title—"Articles gathered out of a communication had with the Queen of Scots, for her subjects." The concluding passage of this paper is to the following effect: "All these premises are but conjecturally propounded, without the knowledge of the Earl of Lennox or any of the nobility joined with him, or without any particular understanding of the state and

By thus encouraging on the one hand the hopes of the Scottish queen, and on the other those of her enemies, the crafty secretary, unable as yet to fathom the real intentions of his mistress, might claim the friendship of whichever party proved successful in the end. But, although Cecil had done his best to reassure the regent, all in reality depended upon Elizabeth. If she now had had the courage and the wisdom to come to terms with Mary, Lennox, who had been raised to the regency solely through the influence of the English queen, would have remonstrated in vain. But she made no sign; and Maitland, who knew her better than she knew herself, and who was at this time in active correspondence with the Bishop of Ross, predicted with the utmost confidence that she would never of her own accord set Mary free.[1] Maitland felt assured that, however eager Elizabeth might be to escape from the dangerous dilemma in which her ministers had placed her, her fears would preponderate in the end; and that she would never of her own free-will restore to liberty and power a woman she had so irreparably wronged. On the close of the negotiations at Chatsworth, she had recourse to her usual expedient of procrastination, for which, in the present instance, the absence of commissioners on the part of the Regent Lennox furnished the excuse.

At length Pitcairn, the Abbot of Dunfermline, who

customs of the country; and, therefore, are to be altered, changed, or forborne, in part or in whole, as shall seem further meet and reasonable upon conference, to be had with any whom the said earl and his party shall send into England for that purpose, and others to be sent by the queen."—Haynes, 620. This paper is not signed by Mary, nor by any one on her behalf.

[1] Quoted by Froude; Hist. of England, x. 100.

acted as secretary to the Government of the regent, reached London towards the end of December. He was the bearer of a formal protest, for various reasons, against the restoration of the Scottish queen. One of these at least was new—Mary, it was alleged, had abdicated her crown at Lochleven, and she had since repudiated her abdication. No reliance, therefore, could be placed on any treaty or engagement she now might make, for "the Papists' maxim of not keeping faith with heretics, would serve her for a substitute to break all covenants, when she saw her time."[1] After some delay Elizabeth gave a formal audience to the emissary of Lennox at Hampton Court, and informed him that his instructions contained matters of importance which required further consideration, and therefore she "desired some men of credit to be directed into England, that an end might be put to that business." She added, by way of encouragement, that "she would not have the regent, or those of his party, to think that she intended to wrong them in any sort; for if they should make it appear that nothing was done by them but according to justice, she would side with them and maintain their quarrel."[2] This language, although reassuring on the one hand, was abundantly alarming on the other. The faction of which Lennox was the chief had proclaimed to the world, as the cause of the deposition of the Queen of Scots, that she had murdered her husband, and had intended to murder her child; and the evidence of these horrid charges had been produced in due form before Elizabeth and her ministers. She had pronounced it to be worthless at the time, and she now in

[1] Spottiswoode, ii. 147. [2] Ibid.

effect repeated her opinion; for, without even the faintest allusion to these accusations, she called afresh on the regent and his friends to justify their continued usurpation of their sovereign's authority. The Abbot of Dunfermline returned to Scotland with his ambiguous message, and Elizabeth spent the remainder of the winter in coquetting with the Duke of Anjou, whose suit was warmly supported by the Protestants of France, as well as by the queen-mother, who sought by means of this alliance to establish an effective counterpoise to the enormous power of Spain. Cecil, too, was in favour of the match; for if the queen had children, which might still be expected, the dangerous claims of the Queen of Scots, of which he never for a moment lost sight, would be effectually cut off. Sussex also cordially approved of the marriage; but after she had induced a prince who was young enough to be her son, to make her a formal offer of his hand —a result which she brought about by sending him a present of her picture—she began forthwith to change her mind. She continued, indeed, her friendly intercourse with the French ambassador, and in his presence made a point of appearing in her richest and gayest dresses. But she wearied her attendants with her incessant displays of frivolity and vanity—at times declaring that she would marry for the sake of her people, again expressing doubts whether so young a prince would prove a faithful husband, and then asserting with an oath that she would die a maiden queen.[1]

Mary, meanwhile, was very differently employed. We cannot suppose that she would have yielded to the

[1] Fénelon, iv. 230, 302; Lingard, vi. 124.

hard conditions imposed upon her, if she had not believed in the sincerity of Elizabeth; and that Elizabeth was as sincere in the business as it was in her nature to be is highly probable. The negotiations at Chatsworth had been concluded by the middle of October, and immediately afterwards Mary addressed a letter to her sister queen in the most affectionate terms, declaring that it was because she placed more reliance upon her than upon any other prince, that she had consented to place in her hands "the most precious jewel which God had given her, her sole comfort in this world,—her only son."[1] She further expressed an earnest hope that Elizabeth would grant her the favour of a personal interview before she quitted her dominions; and it is by no means improbable that a meeting of the two queens, which Mary all along so earnestly desired, might have changed the history of Britain. The character of Elizabeth was made up of inexplicable contradictions, and, notwithstanding her language and her policy, we cannot help suspecting that she entertained a certain secret liking for her accomplished cousin, whose qualities she both admired and feared. With all her weaknesses, too, she possessed a singular knowledge of character. Although she often betrayed a friend, she never trusted an enemy; and a personal acquaintance with Mary might have satisfied her that she was not the fascinating fiend painted by the suspicious fancy of Cecil and Bacon. To Mary's very reasonable request, however, no answer was returned; and as week after week passed away without a word of explanation, the conviction gradually

[1] Labanoff, iii. 106. Her letter is written on the same day on which she signed the agreement with Cecil—*i.e.*, the 16th October.

grew upon her that she had been once more deceived. Her suspicions were strengthened by intelligence which she received from Scotland. One of her stanchest friends, the Laird of Lochinvar,[1] informed her that he had seen several letters written by the Earl of Morton to his friends, in which he assured them that the Queen of England would do nothing to their disadvantage, for she herself had privately given him to understand that the Chatsworth treaty was a farce which was merely intended to amuse the Queen of Scots and her Catholic allies.[2] In confirmation of Lochinvar's letter, Mary was further informed that although a truce had been concluded between the rival factions during the negotiations, Lennox continued his persecutions of her adherents by seizing their castles and laying waste their lands. She also learned, to her unspeakable sorrow, that her son, now in his fifth year, was at this time being taught by his preceptors to speak of her in the most odious and offensive terms. Of all the strokes of fortune that had yet befallen her, this was the hardest to be borne; and she called upon Elizabeth to use her influence with Lennox, who, she truly added, "dared not disobey her," to put a stop to conduct so outrageous.[3] Mary was about this time prostrated by a dangerous attack of illness, which was certainly aggravated, if not caused, by her mental sufferings; and it was the opinion of Fénelon that she felt

[1] After the battle of Langside, the Regent Murray made a progress through Galloway, during which he sent various friendly messages to Lochinvar. But he refused in any way to acknowledge the Government of the regent; and in consequence of his refusal his castle of Kenmore was destroyed.—See Bannatyne's Miscellany, i. 24.

[2] Letter of 21st November; Labanoff, iii. 122.

[3] Letter to the Bishop of Ross of 24th November; Labanoff, iii. 127.

more acutely this cruel blow to her affections than all her other troubles.[1] Change of air having been recommended, Mary was now transported to Sheffield Castle, a seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, at which she was destined to spend no less than fourteen years of her prison-life in England. On hearing of her illness, and its too probable cause, Elizabeth, in a fit of compassion or remorse, despatched two physicians to attend her, and she also allowed the Bishop of Ross to accompany them. She even condescended to write a letter of condolence to her prisoner, and also to send her a ring in token of her affection. Mary received with gratitude these unlooked-for proofs of sympathy; but she remained for some weeks in a precarious state, until the strength of her constitution finally prevailed over the malady under which she laboured. During her convalescence she appealed to Elizabeth, whose unexpected attentions during her illness had revived her hopes, to proceed to the execution of the treaty. She addressed letters with the same intent to Cecil, to Sussex, and even to Leicester. But the only answer she received was, that the commissioners of the regent had not yet arrived from Scotland. Despairing at length as the winter wore away, while she looked in vain for tidings of the treaty, and remembering the

[1] He says that her principal sorrow was "un crèvecuer trop grand, qu'elle a d'aulcunes mauvaises parolles qu'on a aprins au prince d'Escoce, son filz, de profèrer d'elle."—Fénelon au roy, 18th Dec. 1570, iii. 402. In a letter to Fénelon written after her recovery, Mary complains that Buchanan, who had been employed to slander her by Murray and his faction, had been appointed tutor to her son. She begs the French ambassador to represent the matter to Elizabeth, and adds, "Le dicts Buccanan est agé et desormais a besoin de demeurer en un lieu de repos plustost que se tourmanter auprès d'un enfant."—4th March 1571; Labanoff, iii. 202.

warning she had received from Lochinvar, she directed the Bishop of Ross, who had by this time returned to London, to inform Elizabeth that she was resolved to avail herself of the aid of foreign princes to recover her throne, in case the agreement concluded at Chatsworth remained any longer unfulfilled. This letter was dated the 6th of February 1571;[1] and it was probably written in consequence of a communication which she had just received, and which was attended with important consequences both to herself and to her friends.

It has already been mentioned that a Florentine settled in London, named Ridolphi, had been implicated in the rising of the northern lords in 1569.[2] He had been suspected at the time; but the explanations which he furnished of his conduct were deemed satisfactory, and he continued to carry on his business of a banker as formerly. This man, who was of a restless intriguing character, and who maintained a close correspondence with the Papal Court, now addressed a letter to the Queen of Scots, in which he advised her no longer to trust to the promises of Elizabeth, which she never intended to fulfil, but to appeal for aid to the Catholic Powers.[3] As Mary was probably by this time convinced that it was hopeless to look for the execution of the Chatsworth treaty, and irritated, no doubt, by the deception practised upon her, as well as by the conduct of her enemies in Scotland, she desired the Bishop of Ross to consult with the Duke of Norfolk respecting the project of Ridolphi;[4] and that she was abundantly justified under the

[1] Labanoff, iii. 175.
[2] *Ante*, vol. i. 497.
[3] See Appendix B.
[4] Labanoff, iii. 181.

1886619

circumstances in seeking the aid of the Catholic Powers, is not to be disputed. Before any active steps, however, were taken in the matter, the long-looked-for commissioners from Scotland arrived in London. They consisted of the Earl of Morton, the Abbot of Dunfermline, and James Macgill, all of them notorious enemies of the Scottish queen. So far, indeed, from repressing their sentiments towards the sovereign they had deposed, they took the first opportunity of declaring them in the most emphatic manner. Cecil, who had now been created Lord Burghley,[1] along with the Lord Keeper, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Francis Knollys, were appointed to confer with them; and the secretary informed them that his mistress "now expected to receive from them such evident reasons for their proceedings against their queen as wherewith she might both satisfy herself, and with honour answer to the world for that which she did."[2] Thus challenged, Morton undertook to justify the deposition of the queen from the doctrines of the civil and canon law, from examples taken from Scottish history, and from the opinions of Calvin. By desire of the English ministers, the reasons thus stated were put in writing and submitted to Elizabeth. But as they propounded some doctrines extremely distasteful to her, more especially that on which the Scottish commissioners insisted that the people had an inherent right to depose their sovereigns, she replied "that she was in no sort satisfied with their reasons." She desired them, therefore, "to go into the second head, and devise what they thought meetest for the safety of their king and themselves."[3]

[1] In February 1571. [2] Spottiswoode, 148. [3] Ibid.

After a delay of two days, Morton again appeared before the Council, and declared that the reasons for the deposition of Mary had already been laid before Elizabeth. As to the second point, he reminded them that the prince had already been crowned King of Scotland, and had been duly recognised by all good subjects. He entreated the Queen of England, therefore, not to withdraw the support which she had hitherto afforded them, as in that case he feared they would be unable to maintain the authority which was necessary for the peace of the realm.[1]

Although the reply of Morton was to all appearance couched in terms sufficiently courteous, Elizabeth thought fit to regard it as a threat that if she withdrew her protection from the regent he would seek the aid of France. But she laid the blame, not on Morton, but on some of her ministers, who, she declared, had instigated him to use this audacious language, and who for their pains deserved to be hanged at the door of the council chamber with their pestilent advice tied round their throats.[2] She added that she would not suffer Morton to leave London until the matter was brought, one way or other, to a final issue.

The Bishop of Ross, the Bishop of Galloway,[3] and Lord Livingstone, had been appointed by Mary to represent her in London, and the firm attitude now so unexpectedly assumed by Elizabeth induced them, as well as the French ambassador, to hope — even at the eleventh hour — for a favourable decision.

[1] Fénelon, letter of 12th March 1571. [2] Ibid.
[3] A kinsman of Huntly named Alexander Gordon.

Burghley and his adherents in the Council were in a state of utter uncertainty as to how the matter would end; and, in their alarm at the prospects of Mary's restoration, they had recourse to an expedient which, to avert so great a calamity, they no doubt considered highly laudable.

Francis Walsingham, of whose employment in the public service we now hear for the first time, had been sent on a special mission to Paris, and he now addressed a letter to Elizabeth, most probably in concert with his colleagues, in which he informed her that he had discovered a secret project for the marriage of Mary Stewart to the Duke of Anjou, that the Pope had promised his sanction to the union, and that it was arranged to take place as soon as the Queen of Scots was restored to her throne in terms of the Chatsworth treaty.[1] There can be no doubt that the story thus so circumstantially told by Walsingham was a pure fiction, invented for a very obvious purpose. We have not only no evidence that any such match was contemplated, but we have the best proof to the contrary in the admitted fact that Catherine, who held undisputed sway at the French Court, was straining every nerve at this time to bring about a marriage between her favourite son and the Queen of England.[2] Fénelon, the active friend of Mary, must have certainly been acquainted with the scheme, if any such existed. But he describes it simply as a

[1] Fénelon, iv. 20.

[2] Walsingham himself had written to Leicester a short time before "that there was nothing more desired than two marriages; the one between my mistress and Monsieur, the other between the Prince of Navarre and the king's sister."—17th Feb., Digges.

diplomatic trick of Elizabeth's ministers,[1] which was intended to stir up afresh her unquenchable jealousy of her rival, and arrest the progress of the treaty. The French ambassador adds that Walsingham's letter threw her into such a state of fury that he not only regarded the negotiations as at an end, but that he believed even the life of Mary to be in danger.[2]

We may assume that it was not without extreme anxiety that Walsingham and his colleagues had recourse to this hazardous device. They all strongly approved of the marriage of their mistress with the Duke of Anjou, and by working on her jealousy they might defeat the project altogether. Yet it was better to run this, or any other risk, than allow the restoration of the Scottish queen. To deceive their mistress might be dangerous, but to set up her rival they regarded as destruction.

It is probable, however, that Elizabeth soon began to suspect the truth regarding Walsingham's story, for

[1] "Artifice des adversaires."—Fénelon, iv. 25.

[2] Mr Froude makes some remarks on the subject of the Anjou marriage which appear to be wholly inexplicable. He represents the Queen of Scots as having been desirous at this time of securing her brother-in-law the Duke of Anjou as a husband for herself. "Suddenly," he says, "with overwhelming surprise, she learnt that her false lover was going over to the English queen, that a marriage between them was seriously contemplated, and that the fault would not be with Charles or Catherine if Anjou did not soon become the husband of Elizabeth," &c. He adds that, "stung to fury by this unlooked-for blow, she watched with impatience the lingering of the treaty which now she could scarcely wish to succeed," &c. (x. 145). Mr Froude gives no authority for this extraordinary passage, nor have I been able to find any. That Elizabeth was "stung to fury" by the story told by Walsingham, we learn very distinctly from Fénelon; and the only possible explanation of the statement of Mr Froude seems to be, that he may have mistaken the one queen for the other.

we learn from Fénelon that in the course of a few days she again began to waver, and no one could tell what would be the result.[1] It seemed as if she was profoundly convinced that this was the last opportunity she should ever have of coming to terms with her sister queen, and she hesitated long before she flung it finally away. But when, to all appearance, she had at last made up her mind to proceed to the execution of the treaty, a new and wholly unexpected obstacle arose—Morton pretended that he had no authority to consent either to the restoration of Mary or to the removal of her son to England. He was prepared to take his oath to this effect; but he added that if the Queen of England desired it, he was ready to proceed to Scotland for the purpose of summoning a Parliament, which could alone confer on him the necessary powers. We cannot doubt that Morton started this final objection to the treaty with the concurrence—if not at the instigation—of Burghley and his colleagues. This fresh piece of duplicity took Mary's commissioners completely by surprise, and the Bishop of Ross did not hesitate to denounce it on the spot as a miserable subterfuge. He added that his mistress had been grossly deceived; but that, notwithstanding the devices of her enemies, the Queen of England was bound in honour to fulfil the engage-

[1] Ibid., p. 26. Leicester was of the same opinion. On the 26th February he writes to Walsingham: "On the one side, she is loath to set her (Mary) up; on the other, she is as loath to defend that which she is not well persuaded to have justice with it." He adds, "It appears that both ways be dangerous touching the Queen of Scots, for there is danger for delivering of her to her Government, so is there danger in retaining her in prison. In the mean time," he concludes, "whatsoever you may hear, believe me, there is no man can tell you which way it will go."—Digges, 51.

ments she had solemnly contracted.[1] But it was to the friends of Morton that these warm remonstrances were addressed; and in pronouncing their final decision on the question, they simply observed that as the representatives of Mary and those of the regent could not come to terms, they considered their commission at an end.[2]

Thus ended the Chatsworth negotiations, and with them all hopes of peace between the Queen of England and her rival. Not choice, but necessity, henceforth compelled each to regard the other as her enemy. From this time forth it became a fixed maxim of policy with the dominant faction in England that Mary Stewart should never be restored to liberty. It became a fixed article of faith, on the other hand, with the partisans of the captive queen, that they were justified in resorting to force, not only to effect her freedom, but to place her on her rival's throne; and, setting religious prejudice aside, it cannot be denied that the latter occupied much higher moral ground than their opponents. The continued detention of Mary was an outrage so indefensible that no serious attempt has been made, at least in modern times, to justify it. But political crimes, by whatever names they may be called, of necessity provoke retaliation; and when Mary's friends plotted the overthrow of Elizabeth, although they were legally guilty of treason, can it be maintained in truth and justice that they were more culpable than Lord Burghley and his colleagues, the first aggressors in the deadly strife, whose selfish ambition rendered the conflict inevitable, and who, in the eyes

[1] See Leslie's Negotiations in Anderson, iii.

[2] Tytler, vii. 283.

of impartial posterity, must be held responsible for its results?

Shortly after his elevation to the regency, the Earl of Lennox, naturally desirous of bringing to justice the most prominent of the murderers of his son, despatched an envoy named Thomas Buchanan to Denmark to negotiate with the king for the surrender of Bothwell. While Morton was in London, a letter reached him addressed to Lennox by his envoy in Copenhagen. Before it was forwarded to its destination, it was opened and read by Morton—a circumstance abundantly significant of the influence he exercised over the regent. The despatch has disappeared; but that it contained some matter which he did not venture to submit even to the friendly eye of Elizabeth, we learn from Morton himself. On hearing that he had received a letter from Denmark, her curiosity was roused, and she desired to see it. Morton pretended to comply with her wishes, and sent her a copy, but with certain passages omitted, which, as he expressed it, "would rather have hindered than furthered our cause."[1] Why he should have sent a mutilated copy of this letter to Elizabeth, it is impossible, in the absence of the original, to explain. But it has been naturally conjectured that the passages which he so carefully suppressed in the pretended copy, either criminated himself, or exonerated the queen. Whatever may have been his motives, we learn from this incident that Morton did not hesitate to falsify a document even when he desired to deceive his friends. We may safely conclude that he was not more scrupulous as regards his enemies.

[1] See his letter to Lennox; Goodall, ii. 382.

It is further to be observed that Morton on this occasion brought with him a second time to London the famous silver casket and its contents.[1] But it was not produced, nor was it even referred to, in the course of the various discussions which took place. Morton discoursed boldly as to the duties and the rights of princes and their subjects; but he never ventured to say to the ministers of Elizabeth, "the mother of my sovereign is a murderess; here are the proofs of her guilt, which you yourselves have seen; these are the grounds upon which she has been deposed, and upon these I protest, in the name of the regent and the States of Scotland, that she shall not be restored." If Morton had known the contents of the casket to be genuine, he could hardly have failed to use this language; for it would have furnished a conclusive answer to the representations both of Elizabeth and of Mary's commissioners. But although he brought to England a second time the alleged proofs of his sovereign's guilt, he did not venture to allude even to their existence. Elizabeth was equally and ominously silent. The negotiations for the restoration of her rival proceeded as if the conferences at York and Westminster had been utterly forgotten; and the casket and its contents found their way once more back to Scotland, where they finally disappeared in the same mysterious manner in which they first saw the light of day.

[1] Goodall, ii. 91.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONSPIRACY OF RIDOLPHI.

The absolute impunity with which Elizabeth had hitherto violated her obligations to her neighbours forms one of the most striking features in her history. We have seen that Scotland had been incessantly distracted by her intrigues for upwards of ten years, and that the anarchy which now prevailed in that country was mainly the work of her insidious policy. In France she had secretly instigated the Protestants to take up arms, and had even at times openly supported them in their rebellion. Yet the political condition of France and Scotland was such that both countries were compelled to avoid a rupture with England. It seemed doubtful whether a similar policy could be practised with the like impunity against the most formidable of the European Powers; but, emboldened by their past experience, the Queen of England and her ministers did not hesitate to make the attempt.

Towards the close of the year 1568, certain Spanish vessels, to avoid capture by Huguenot privateers, took refuge in Southampton harbour. They had on board a large quantity of bullion consigned to the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands; and the Spanish

ambassador in London represented the matter to the queen, and applied for permission to have the treasure transported by land to Dover, whence it might be forwarded to its destination. But the temptation of appropriating half a million of Spanish ducats proved irresistible; and the representative of Philip was informed that the queen was not satisfied as to whom the money really belonged, and that for the present it must remain in her hands.[1]

The Duke of Alva was at this time in urgent need of money, and, irritated beyond measure at the conduct of Elizabeth, he issued an order for the seizure of all English ships and property in Antwerp. By this rash proceeding the original ground of quarrel was speedily lost sight of. The English Government retaliated upon Alva by seizing all Spanish ships in English harbours. A lengthened correspondence followed, which ended in the restoration of the vessels upon both sides. But all attempts to recover the intercepted treasure from Elizabeth proved unavailing. Under a series of ever-varying pretexts,[2] she insisted in detaining it, as she detained the Queen of Scots, in open violation of the rules of international usage, practised even in that lawless age.

This incident, comparatively unimportant in itself, was attended, nevertheless, by most important consequences. Being deprived thus unexpectedly of the means of paying his troops, the Duke of Alva, to raise the money necessary for the purpose, devised a new and most ruinous scheme of taxation for the Nether-

[1] Lingard, vi. 114.

[2] See on the subject Fénelon, i. 48, 59, 76, 89, 90, 726; Camden, 175; Cabala, 158, 160; Murdin, 766.

lands. Although, to escape the terrors of the Inquisition, numbers of the inhabitants had fled to Germany and to England, the people had in general borne, with a remarkable degree of patience, his religious persecutions. But he quickly learned that religious persecution, even of the most aggravated kind, was far less dangerous than the imposition of an odious tax. Alva had at this time driven the insurgent armies from the field, and his "Council of Blood" might have succeeded in rooting out Protestantism in the Low Countries, as it had already been rooted out in Spain and Italy. Yet he failed, in the very zenith of his power, to compel the men of the Netherlands to pay "the tenth-penny;"[1] and his dogged adherence to this insane project led to a fierce renewal of the struggle, and eventually to their independence.

But although the conduct of Elizabeth furnished ample cause of war, the King of Spain, as she well knew, had strong reasons at this time for avoiding hostilities with England. His armies were fully employed in the Netherlands, and in Grenada where an insurrection of the Moors had broken out afresh; while his fleets were preparing, with those of Venice, for his long-meditated crusade against the Sultan. Smothering his resentment, therefore, for the present, he simply protested against the extraordinary conduct of his sister-in-law, and awaited, with characteristic patience, for an opportunity of revenge. The Duke of Alva was equally averse to an open breach with England; but, in anticipation of coming events, he was prepared

[1] As to the nature of this extraordinary tax, see Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic, ii. 277.

to aid the Queen of Scots to the utmost of his power; and although his treasury was nearly empty, he had furnished ten thousand crowns for the support of her garrisons in Edinburgh and Dumbarton. The money was paid to Lord Seton, who had been despatched to the Netherlands by Mary's friends in Scotland, and it proved of essential service at the time.[1]

Such was the attitude of Spain—

"Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike"—

when Mary, despairing of the fulfilment of the Chatsworth treaty, was induced, by the Bishop of Ross and the Spanish ambassador in London, Don Gueraldo d'Espés, to accept the proffered services of Ridolphi. The next step was to gain over the Duke of Norfolk to the plot, and this was a process both difficult and dangerous. The duke had been released from custody in the previous autumn, and on obtaining his liberty he had signed a solemn declaration that "he would never deal in that cause of marriage of the Queen of Scots, nor in any other cause belonging to her,"[2] but with the full knowledge and consent of his mistress. But, notwithstanding his professions of loyalty and obedience, he was still an object of suspicion; and his movements were so closely watched, that the conspirators could only venture to communicate with him indirectly, through a gentleman of his household named Barker, with whom the Bishop of Ross was well acquainted. Through this channel the plan of the conspiracy was secretly imparted to the duke, who took care, however, according to the evidence of

[1] Spottiswoode, 131.

[2] See his declaration in Haynes, 598.

the bishop and of Barker, not to commit himself by writing, or even by speech.[1] But that he expressed no disapproval of the plot is certain. This unfortunate nobleman seems, in short, through sheer feebleness of character, to have drifted into crime. He hesitated between duty and inclination until the current of events swept him helplessly along, he knew not whither. With too little courage for a conspirator, yet with too much ambition for a subject, he could not resist the temptation of a crown; but he had lost his only chance of winning it by his vacillating conduct in the northern rebellion, which had deceived his friends, but had not deceived Elizabeth. Fortune had endowed the duke with many gifts: the foremost rank in the English peerage, a princely fortune, a goodly presence, and native powers of eloquence which, on his trial, rendered him no unworthy antagonist of his accusers. But with all his advantages, nature had marked him for a dupe. He had been the tool successively of Maitland and of the Regent Murray, and he was now to be the victim of an Italian adventurer, the enemy of his country and of his religion. Nothing, indeed, weighs so heavily against the Duke of Norfolk as the fact that he was the only Englishman engaged in the conspiracy. The Bishop of Ross was no subject of Elizabeth, and he might justify all he did on the plea of duty to his mistress. The Spanish ambassador might allege that he was responsible for his acts to his own Government alone; and even Ridolphi might plead zeal for his faith as a justification of his conduct. But, as an Englishman,

[1] See their depositions in Murdin.

Norfolk knew that to conspire against his queen was the act of a traitor, and, as a Protestant, that to seek the overthrow of his religion was the work of an apostate. Nor can it lastly be alleged, in extenuation of his conduct, that love, or even manly sympathy for the wrongs of the unhappy princess, whose liberation was the first object of the enterprise, induced him to quit the path of duty. He never saw the Scottish queen; and although his vanity might be flattered by the prospect of marrying the finest woman of the age, he never seems to have regarded her in any other light than as a stepping-stone to power.

After various verbal communications had passed between the conspirators and the duke, he at length consented to a secret interview with Ridolphi, at which the Florentine explained in detail his proposed plan of operations.[1] A body of Spanish troops was to be landed in England under the Duke of Alva's son, Don Frederick of Toledo. With the aid of Norfolk and his friends, the Queen of Scots would then be set at liberty. As regarded Elizabeth, not only was there no design against her life, but she was even to be allowed to retain her crown, on condition of her adopting the Catholic faith and consenting to the marriage of Norfolk and Mary Stewart. Finally, Ridolphi indicated to the duke the names of the leading Catholic nobles who were willing to take part in the enterprise. These were the Earl of Arundel, the Lords Montague and Lumley, Sir John Arundel, and Sir Thomas Stanley.

If the duke had been either a wise or an honest man, he must at once, and for ever, have declined all

[1] See in Murdin the confessions of Barker and of the Bishop of Ross.

participation in this wild scheme. But he seems to have thought that he could play at treason with impunity; and that, as circumstances might guide him, he could either engage more deeply in the game or retire. Although he refused to commit himself by any direct correspondence with the Catholic Powers,[1] or even with Ridolphi, the latter left him in the full belief that, provided the promised aid arrived in England, the duke would place himself at the head of the rebellion.

A letter of instructions was accordingly drawn up for Ridolphi, in all probability by himself, with the assistance of the Bishop of Ross and the Spanish ambassador. It was addressed, in the name of the duke, to the Pope and the King of Spain, requesting their assistance in his treasonable design of dethroning his sovereign and restoring the ancient religion.

After describing the oppressions and cruelties practised upon the Catholics, "who[2] were more numerous and powerful" than their enemies, the duke is made to say that he and his friends were decidedly opposed to the marriage of Elizabeth with a French prince, which might eventually lead to a union of the crowns of England and France; and that they desired instead a marriage between the Queen of Scots and Norfolk himself, so that the whole of Britain might be united, and the ancient faith restored; that although he still professed himself a Protestant, because he desired to retain the services of his Protestant friends,

[1] It appears, however, that Norfolk did eventually write to Philip, engaging to place himself at the head of the Catholic nobility of England and Scotland, with the purpose of restoring the ancient religion.—Memorias de la Real academia de la historia, 357.

[2] "Il maggior numero e più potente."—Labanoff, iii. 238.

he pledged himself, in the event of his project succeeding, through the assistance of the Pope and the King of Spain, to be hereafter guided on the subject of religion by their advice; that to insure the success of the enterprise he required an auxiliary force of eight thousand infantry, with twenty-five thousand field-pieces, and a sufficient supply of military stores; that if these troops could be spared from the Netherlands and landed at *Harwich in Norfolk*, or *Portsmouth in Sussex*, he engaged to join them immediately with an army of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse; and that if, in addition to the above-named auxiliaries, two thousand troops could be sent to Scotland and two thousand to Ireland, so as to oblige the Queen of England to divide her forces, there could be no doubt as to the result.

This letter, written wholly in Italian, was not signed by the Duke of Norfolk; and it is probable that he never saw it. Its bold and confident tone is wholly inconsistent with his cautious and vacillating disposition; nor can we suppose that he could have made the geographical blunders of placing Harwich in Norfolk and Portsmouth in Sussex. But these are mistakes into which a stranger in England might easily have fallen, and which we may venture to ascribe to the Bishop of Ross, to Ridolphi, or to the Spanish ambassador—all of whom had probably a hand in its composition.

At the same time, a letter of instructions was obtained from the Queen of Scots. It was probably drawn up by the Bishop of Ross, and it referred generally to the persecution of the English Catholics; to the dangers to which the Queen of Scots was exposed;

to the hopelessness of her recovering her liberty, except by means of foreign aid; and to the project of the Duke of Norfolk, which his own letter would more fully explain. The concluding passage of Mary's instructions was the most important. It ran as follows: "You will declare to his Holiness that, to our great grief, we were made a prisoner by one of our subjects, the Earl of Bothwell, and by him forcibly carried off, along with the Earl of Huntly and our secretary, to the Castle of Dunbar, and afterwards to the Castle of Edinburgh, where we were detained against our will by the said Earl of Bothwell, until he had procured a pretended divorce[1] from his wife, the sister of the Earl of Huntly, our near kinsman, and obliged us to consent, against our will, to *a pretended marriage with*[2] him. Entreat his Holiness to take such steps in this matter that we may be relieved from so great an indignity, either by the ordinary process in Rome, or by a commission granted to the bishops in Scotland and other Catholic judges, as to his Holiness shall seem best, after he shall have been made acquainted with all the circumstances of the case from a memorial which will be transmitted to him by the Bishop of Ross."

It would appear from these instructions that Mary was now aware that Bothwell's "pretended divorce" was wholly illegal, and that, consequently, her marriage with him was null and void. Bothwell, as we now know, had obtained a Papal dispensation for his marriage with Huntly's sister.[3] They were, therefore,

[1] "Uno pretenso divortio."—Labanoff, iii. 232.

[2] The words in italics are not in the original, but they seem to be implied by the writer.

[3] See preface to this volume.

lawfully married, and could not be divorced on the alleged ground of consanguinity. Was Mary then aware, when she consented to marry Bothwell, that he was at the time the lawful husband of another woman? It seems incredible that a strict Catholic, as Mary always was, should have committed an act of such superlative folly. Nor can we come to any other conclusion than that the existence of the Papal dispensation had been carefully concealed from the queen both by Bothwell and by his wife.

Furnished with his credentials, Ridolphi, towards the end of March, proceeded to the Netherlands, where Alva received him courteously but coldly. Although a very indifferent economist, the duke was an excellent soldier. No commander of the age displayed in all his enterprises a happier mixture of daring and discretion; and the notion of invading England with a few thousand troops seemed to his experienced eye a very hopeless project. Alva, too, was a shrewd judge of men, and he at once took the measure of Ridolphi, whom he described to Philip as "a babbling coxcomb."[1] Of the chief of the conspiracy, moreover, he entertained but a mean opinion; for he believed that Norfolk possessed neither the abilities nor the courage for the part designed for him. He never, therefore, approved of the Norfolk marriage, but would have much preferred, as a husband for the Queen of Scots, Don John of Austria, the gallant and aspiring half-brother of Philip. Sanguine by temperament, and

[1] "Un gran parlanchin."—Memorias, 359. In writing to the king a few months later, Alva says, "Ridolphi es un hombre muy vacio."—Alva to Philip, 5th September 1571; Correspondence de Philippe II., 198.

confident of success, Ridolphi spared no efforts to enlist the sympathies of Alva on his side; but the duke finally evaded his importunities by referring him to the king, without whose sanction nothing could be done.

At Rome the reception of Ridolphi was more cordial. Pius V., whose indiscreet zeal had led him to excommunicate Elizabeth, and had thus exposed the English Catholics to fresh persecutions, expressed his warm approval of the plot. He placed a sum of money at the immediate disposal of Ridolphi, gave him emphatic assurances of further support, and furnished him with a letter to the King of Spain, strongly recommending the project, and invoking his powerful aid on its behalf.[1]

From Rome Ridolphi hastened to Madrid, where, owing apparently to the representations of Alva, he was at first by no means favourably received. Ever reserved and ever suspicious, Philip even entertained grave doubts as to the true character of the Florentine. The "practices" of Lord Burghley, to use his own favourite term, were well known at Madrid; and it was even conjectured that Ridolphi might be a spy.[2] But the warm recommendations of the Pope, aided by his own assiduity and address, enabled him to overcome the prejudices of the Spanish king; and a council was summoned to deliberate on the project of invading England, and of placing Mary Stewart on the throne of Elizabeth. We have seen that in his communications with Mary and with Norfolk, Ridolphi had expressed no hostility against the person of the

[1] Lingard, vi. 128.

[2] Apuntamientos, 112, 113. Philip to Espés; Memorias, 360.

English queen. On the contrary, every precaution was to be taken for her security. But to Philip and his ministers he held very different language. To them he represented the murder of Elizabeth as a condition indispensable to the success of the plot.[1] He explained that the assassination might easily be effected in the course of the autumn, when she usually resided in the country; and he indicated the Marquis Vitelli,[2] an officer who had greatly distinguished himself in the wars of the Netherlands, as the person most suitable for the purpose. Ridolphi assured the council that, immediately on the death of Elizabeth, the Duke of Norfolk and all the principal nobility would forthwith take up arms, and, with the aid of Alva's auxiliaries, place Mary on the vacant throne.

Ridolphi had failed to convince the Duke of Alva of the prudence, or even of the practicability, of his scheme; and the Spanish commander had communicated his opinion to his master in very decided terms. But Philip, although by no means of an enterprising nature, was strongly disposed at this time to lend a willing ear to any scheme of hostility against the Queen of England. The intense bigotry of the Spanish king was well known, moreover, to Ridolphi; and the artful Florentine did not hesitate to flatter him with the splendid prospect of restoring Britain to the bosom of the Church—an enterprise of which he might reap all the glory as well as all the profit. To extirpate heresy in the West, and to stem the tide of Mohammedan

[1] Memorias, vii. 358, 362, 441, 457.

[2] Beyond Ridolphi's statement, there is no evidence that this officer was in any way implicated in the plot. Vitelli had visited England, and had been treated with great courtesy by Elizabeth.—See Lingard, vi. 129, note.

conquest in the East, was the double duty which Philip at this time sincerely believed to be imposed upon him by the will of Heaven; and in spite of the warning of Alva, and the adverse opinion of several of his council, he finally gave his full assent to the murderous project of Ridolphi.[1]

But in most of the important transactions of his reign, Philip made up his mind too late. Before he finally resolved to adopt Ridolphi's scheme, events had taken place in England which completely changed the aspect of affairs, and rendered its execution impossible.

Before leaving Brussels, Ridolphi had intrusted to one Charles Bailly a packet to be delivered to the Bishop of Ross in London. It consisted of books and letters, the former being copies of the bishop's Defence of Mary, which had been printed at Liege, and the latter being addressed to various persons of rank in England. Bailly, who was a retainer of the Queen of Scots, was arrested on suspicion on his arrival at Dover; but through the intervention of Lord Cobham, the Lord Warden, who was a secret partisan of the Scottish queen, the bishop contrived to obtain possession of the more important letters, and in particular of one in cipher addressed by Ridolphi to Norfolk, which contained a detailed account of his negotiations with the Duke of Alva. In the place of these damning documents the bishop dexterously sealed up in Bailly's packet a quantity of papers which could implicate no one; and when the unfortunate man was thrown into prison, and cruelly tortured, he was unable to disclose anything[2] of material importance. In the course of

[1] Lingard, vi. 129.

[2] See his examination in Murdin.

his examination, he admitted that at Mechlin he had conversed with the Earl of Westmoreland, with the Countess of Northumberland, and with Leonard Dacre; and he further admitted that at Brussels he had written letters to the dictation of Ridolphi, which, under the numbers 30 and 40, he believed to be intended for the Spanish ambassador and the Queen of Scots. These numbers, it was afterwards ascertained, in reality indicated the Duke of Norfolk and the Lord Lumley. But for the present all the efforts of Lord Burghley and his colleagues to probe the matter to the bottom were defeated by the bishop. Although, in defiance of international customs, his house was ransacked, and he himself subjected to a searching examination, nothing was discovered; nor was anything admitted by him which could criminate his mistress. He readily acknowledged that when Ridolphi set out for the Netherlands he had requested him to seek the aid of the Duke of Alva on behalf of his loyal countrymen in Scotland, but with any conspiracy against the Queen of England he solemnly disclaimed all connection.[1]

With these explanations Burghley was by no means satisfied. He knew the intriguing character of the bishop; he suspected the Spanish ambassador; he was convinced that there were other parties in league with them for some unlawful purpose, the nature of which he had as yet failed to discover. A singular incident at length revealed the truth.

Piracy in the early middle ages had been the favourite occupation of the northern European nations; and in the general thirst for maritime enterprise

[1] See in Murdin the examinations of Bailly and of the Bishop of Ross.

which distinguished the sixteenth century, the English resumed on a more extended scale the predatory habits of their Scandinavian ancestors. Numberless adventurers, who acknowledged no law but that of might, infested every sea; and although their sovereign was nominally at peace with Philip, the rich commerce and the vast colonial possessions of Spain were mercilessly plundered with the connivance of the Queen of England, who was well content to share with her enterprising subjects the profits of their piratical adventures.[1] But these were not invariably successful. In one of his marauding expeditions to the coast of Mexico, Sir John Hawkins, the most renowned of the English buccaneers, met with a disaster in which a number of his men were captured by the Spaniards. It was not the custom of the age to treat prisoners of war with much humanity, even when they were able to pay a ransom for their liberty; and the English sailors were shipped off to Seville, and there thrust into filthy dungeons, with the miserable prospect before them of being hanged as pirates, burnt as heretics, or slowly starved to death, as their captors might determine. Hawkins naturally sympathised with comrades who long had shared his triumphs and his dangers thus lingering in hopeless captivity; but how to relieve them was a task beyond his strength. His sovereign was nominally at peace with Spain; but he lived in an age when morals were held of small account by the wisest and the greatest, and the rough sailor of fortune saw no harm in seeking to accomplish by fraud what he could not venture to obtain by force. He hit upon a scheme which he privately disclosed to Lord Burgh-

[1] See Froude, xi. 402, 403.

ley, and with his sanction he sought an interview with the Spanish ambassador. Admitted to the presence of Don Gueraldo, Hawkins informed him that he, as well as numbers of his comrades, were disgusted with the treatment they had received at the hands of the Government, and that he was in secret a warm supporter of the Queen of Scots, and was ready on the first opportunity to take up arms on her behalf. He only required some assistance from the King of Spain, and, in the first instance, that his imprisoned comrades at Seville should be restored to liberty. On these conditions he was ready to enter the service of Philip, and to bring over with him the finest ships and the best sailors in the English navy.

Don Gueraldo, who entertained very exaggerated notions of the amount of discontent prevailing in England, and who firmly believed that the days of Elizabeth's rule were numbered, was overjoyed at this fresh proof of disaffection among the subjects of the heretic queen, and he hastened to inform the Duke of Alva of the tempting offer made by Hawkins. But Alva was obstinately incredulous regarding the success of all projected revolutions in England. He evidently had formed a much truer estimate of the position of Elizabeth than his countrymen in general, and he received the communication of Don Gueraldo with the same reserve as he did the proposals of Ridolphi. But the encouragement which Hawkins had received from the Spanish ambassador induced him, with the concurrence of Burghley, to follow up his scheme. He despatched one of his officers named Fitzwilliam, who seems to have been in every way well fitted for the delicate part he had to play, to repeat to Philip in

person the offer which had been made to his representative in London. In consequence of the recommendation of Don Gueraldo, Fitzwilliam was well received in Madrid; but being without credentials of any kind, he was naturally asked whether he or Sir John Hawkins was personally known to the Queen of Scots, or to any of the leading Catholic nobility. The envoy was obliged to reply in the negative; but he adroitly avoided all further questioning by boldly declaring that he had come to Spain solely as the representative of Sir John Hawkins, who was well able to fulfil his promises, provided the prisoners at Seville were released, and a sum of money was advanced for the equipment of the fleet. On these conditions he was ready to quit the English service for that of the Spanish king.

The singularly advantageous offer thus made to Philip might well have awakened his suspicions. In exchange for a handful of friendless prisoners he was to receive into his service the best ships, the best sailors, and the best commander in the English navy. But it was certain that Don Gueraldo, who had seen and conversed with Hawkins, believed him to be acting in good faith; and Fitzwilliam was finally informed that if he brought a letter of recommendation from the Queen of Scots, his proposals would be favourably considered by the Spanish council. Before quitting Madrid, Fitzwilliam had so far won the confidence of the Duke of Feria, an important member of the council, and of the duchess, who was an Englishwoman,[1] that they intrusted him with letters for the Scottish

[1] Jane Dormer, a daughter of Sir William Dormer. She had been a maid of honour to Mary Tudor.

queen. With these, and with the cautious reply of Philip, he returned to England.

It was obvious that unless the required letter of credence could be obtained from Mary, the daring scheme of Hawkins must be abandoned, and the gross deception practised on Don Gueraldo and his master in all probability exposed. But this was a result which Hawkins and Burghley were alike desirous to avoid. The one was anxious to recover his comrades, and to obtain, besides, a round sum of money; and the other hoped to ascertain by means of Fitzwilliam the real intentions of the King of Spain. It was resolved, therefore, that in his assumed character of a partisan of the Scottish queen, Fitzwilliam should repair to Sheffield Castle. From the time of Bailly's arrest, she had been watched and guarded with the utmost care; and Burghley did not think it prudent to acquaint even her keeper, Shrewsbury, with the real object of Fitzwilliam's visit. Cecil was obviously of opinion that secrets of so perilous a kind were to be imparted only to those whom it was absolutely necessary to trust. He accordingly wrote to Shrewsbury, stating that Fitzwilliam had some friends who were confined in a Spanish prison, and that a letter from the Queen of Scots to Philip might induce him to set them free. Fitzwilliam proceeded, accordingly, to Sheffield, and was admitted to an audience of the captive queen. The letters which he brought from the Duke and Duchess of Feria disarmed all suspicion of treachery; and when he entreated her to intercede with Philip on behalf of his imprisoned countrymen, she, after some slight hesitation, cheerfully promised to comply with his request. She ought to compas-

sionate prisoners, she said, for she was a prisoner herself, and she would gladly do all she could to relieve an Englishman.[1]

Mary had often, in the course of her eventful life, been the dupe of her good nature, but never more so than on this occasion. She wrote to Philip, as she had promised, on behalf of the imprisoned sailors, little dreaming that the spy and impostor to whom she gave the letter was in league with her worst enemies. She also gave him a letter and some presents for the Duchess of Feria, all of which were in due time delivered by Fitzwilliam to Hawkins, and by Hawkins to Lord Burghley. But, to the great disappointment of the secretary, there was nothing to be found in Mary's letters to criminate either her or any one else. The main object, however, of Fitzwilliam's visit to Sheffield was accomplished. He had obtained a letter from the Scottish queen, with which, and with the presents for the Duchess of Feria, he set out once more for Madrid.

All Philip's doubts were dispelled by the letters of Mary. He forthwith caused the English prisoners to be released; and believing that they would be speedily employed in his service, generously ordered each of them to receive a sum of money sufficient to defray his expenses to England. It now became absolutely necessary that Philip should disclose his plans; and Fitzwilliam ascertained the important fact that the Duke of Alva was to have an army in readiness for the invasion of England in the autumn, and that it was intended that the ships to be provided by

[1] See letter of Shrewsbury to Burghley, in which this singular interview is shortly described, 3d June 1571; Record Office.

Hawkins should take part in the expedition. But Philip and his ministers were discreetly silent as to the intended murder of Elizabeth. Alva had distinctly informed his master that unless she was either dead or a prisoner, he should consider the enterprise as hopeless. But it was unnecessary to discuss this delicate topic with the emissary of Hawkins, who only undertook, on certain conditions, to furnish a naval force to be employed in Philip's service. An agreement to that effect was accordingly drawn up and signed by Fitzwilliam on the part of Hawkins, and by the Duke of Feria on the part of Philip.[1] By this instrument the latter not only engaged to pay in advance to the English buccaneer a large sum of money for his services, but to grant him a free pardon for the innumerable depredations which he and his comrades had for years past committed against the commerce and the colonies of Spain. No longer dreaming now of treachery, and gratified beyond measure at the completion of a treaty which secured for his projected enterprise the services of the first seaman of the age, Philip evinced his satisfaction by conferring on him the title of a grandee of Spain.

At the very same time, therefore, that Philip and his council were conspiring at Madrid to murder the Queen of England, Hawkins and Burghley were conspiring in London to rob the Spanish king; and the complete success of their scheme is one of the most singular incidents of the age. The real intention of Hawkins, if he had joined the Spanish fleet, was to destroy it on the first opportunity; but the course of

[1] This curious treaty was signed on the 10th August 1571.— Apuntamientos, 357 *et seq.*

events rendered the projected invasion at this time impossible. He had, however, in the mean time, by a series of most artful devices, in all of which Burghley was his accomplice, grossly imposed upon the Queen of Scots, and defrauded the King of Spain out of fifty thousand pounds—a sum equivalent, at the present day, to probably six times that amount. Burghley no doubt regarded the transaction as a masterpiece of diplomatic art. The two enemies whom he most dreaded in the world were the King of Spain and the Queen of Scots; and he had not only made dupes of both, but had actually employed the one to circumvent the other. What proportion of the spoil reached Elizabeth we do not know; but, as she was privy to the whole transaction,[1] we cannot doubt that she received a handsome share. Burghley, too, had attained his object by the discovery of the intended invasion, with which Charles Bailly's arrival in England was obviously connected. But one important link in the chain of evidence was still wanting, Who were the parties in England upon whom Alva and Philip and the Queen of Scots relied? Various noblemen were suspected; but another accident at length laid bare the whole of the Ridolphi plot.

On the meeting of Parliament in the spring of this year, a daring suggestion had been made to the Duke of Norfolk by the Bishop of Ross. It was well known that various measures hostile to the Catholics would be proposed; and, to frustrate the designs of their enemies, the bishop earnestly recommended Norfolk, with the aid of the disaffected nobles, to dissolve both

[1] See Froude, x. 266.

Houses by force. He reminded him that such enterprises had been executed successfully in Italy, and more recently still in Scotland. But if the bishop was the most sanguine, the duke was the most cautious of conspirators, and he flatly refused to resort to any such "Italian devices."[1] When the legislature met, various statutes extremely oppressive to the Catholics[2] were passed; and throughout the summer the duke took no apparent interest in public affairs. But, in breach of his solemn pledge, he continued to correspond, through his secretaries, with the Queen of Scots, as well as with the bishop and other political adherents.

During the month of August the French ambassador applied to a retainer of the duke, named Higford, to assist him in transmitting to Scotland a portion of Queen Mary's dowry, consisting of two thousand crowns. Higford undertook to send the money to Norfolk's steward at Shrewsbury, whose name was Bannister, and who was desired to forward it to its destination. Higford accordingly intrusted it to a carrier, informing him that it was a quantity of silver for the use of the Duke of Norfolk's steward. But the suspicions of the man were roused by the weight of the bag in which the coin was placed, and which, upon opening, he found to contain not silver but gold. There was also enclosed in the bag a letter in cipher, which greatly strengthened his suspicions; and he proceeded at once to the residence of Lord Burghley, in whose pay he probably was, and informed him of the matter. Higford was immediately summoned be-

[1] Murdin, 44.

[2] See Lingard, vi. 120, 121; and Stat. of the Realm, iv. 528.

fore the Council and desired to read the ciphered letter. He at first pleaded ignorance; but, on being warned of the consequences of his refusal—which, he well knew, meant imprisonment and torture—he at once complied. The letter was short, but its purport was clear. It desired the duke's steward at Shrewsbury to send on the money to one of the Lowthers in Westmoreland, by whom it was to be conveyed across the Border for the use of the garrison in Edinburgh Castle. Not an instant was lost in following up this not-unlooked-for discovery. For months Burghley had been baffled in his efforts to trace out the English branch of the conspiracy, which he well knew was ripening in anticipation of the Spanish project of invasion, but he was on the right scent at last. He had long suspected Norfolk, and it was now certain that he was a party to the plot. Bannister his steward, and Barker his secretary, were forthwith arrested and sent to the Tower. The former, as soon as he was stretched on the rack, disclosed all he knew; and Barker, who knew much more—for he had been the channel of communication between the Bishop of Ross, Ridolphi, and the duke—followed his example on the mere sight of the engine of torture. But the most material evidence was furnished by Higford. The duke had received various letters from the Queen of Scots, which, instead of destroying with his own hands, he, with singular imprudence, intrusted to this man to burn. But, instead of obeying his orders, Higford treacherously preserved them, with the apparent purpose of providing for his own safety in case of need.[1] These letters were

[1] See the examination of Higford in Murdin.

forthwith laid before the Council; and the evidence against Norfolk being now abundantly strong to justify his appprehension, Sir Henry Nevill was ordered to arrest him. His behaviour on being made a prisoner, like the whole of his conduct throughout, was lamentably weak. At first, being in ignorance of the confessions of his servants, he boldly denied all knowledge of the plot. On their depositions being laid before him, he exclaimed that he was betrayed; but his incoherent attempts at explanation only confirmed the testimony of his accusers: and when a warrant from the queen arrived, with an order for his conveyance to the Tower, his courage wholly failed him, and he implored mercy in the most abject terms.[1] It was a pitiable sight: the foremost peer in all the realm, the hope of Catholic Christendom—who, with the aid of Alva's veterans, was to restore the British Islands to the Church — begging for life and liberty like the meanest malefactor. The suddenness of the charges made against him, and the unexpected disclosures of his servants, may account in some measure for the utter loss of self-possession which he displayed. But successful rebels are made of sterner stuff; and Alva had rightly read the character of the duke when he pronounced him unfitted for the part Ridolphi had assigned him.

The prospects of Mary were now darker than at any period of her history. The most unfortunate of a race pre-eminent for its misfortunes, her evil destiny

[1] Murdin, 150; letter of Sir R. Sadler, Sir T. Smith, and Dr Wilson, to Burghley: "This day after dinner we came to the duke, and have taken his examination, who very humbly behaved himself, on his knees submitting himself with tears to her highness's mercy; declaring great sorrow that he hath so offended," &c.

was in nothing more conspicuous than in the characters of the men with whom, from circumstances rather than from choice, her lot from time to time was cast. Francis II. was a sickly boy; Darnley was a fool; Bothwell was a ruffian; and Norfolk, whom at this time she certainly regarded as her affianced husband, had shown himself to be little better than a coward. Nor was she more fortunate in her political advisers. Murray and Maitland had both basely betrayed her confidence; and the indiscreet zeal of the Bishop of Ross, by entangling her in the meshes of a plot which from the first gave no reasonable promise of success, had now involved her in the utmost peril. That she was fully justified in attempting at this time to recover her liberty, was admitted even by Lord Burghley himself; but the discovery of the conspiracy furnished him and his adherents with a fresh plea for their past hostility to the Scottish queen; and what was much more important, it effectually prevented the question of her restoration being again entertained for many years to come.

Immediately after the duke's arrest, Burghley addressed a letter to Shrewsbury which is well worthy of attention. The earl was desired to inform his prisoner that the Queen of England was aware that she had sought, with the aid of the Duke of Norfolk, to make her escape to Spain; "yet," adds the secretary, "her majesty thinks it no just cause *to be offended with these devices tending to her liberty.*" This admission is so important that we are much surprised so cautious a politician should have made it to any one; for it followed of necessity that if Elizabeth had no just cause to complain of the efforts of her prisoner to

recover her liberty, there was no just cause for her detention. "But," continued Cecil, "the very matter of offence is that her majesty understands certainly her labours and devices to stir up a new rebellion in this realm, and to have the King of Spain to assist it."[1] "And so in this sort, *her majesty would have you tempt her patience to provoke her to answer somewhat*, for of all these premises her majesty is certainly assured."[2]

In these instructions we discover a new feature of Burghley's policy. He could not venture to employ the rack or the thumbscrew at Sheffield Castle, but he would force his victim to speak out by a process perhaps more effective still. She was enfeebled by illness, most probably rendered irritable by continued disappointments; and he would have her keeper play the part both of inquisitor and spy, and by watching, and working on her temper, provoke a highly sensitive woman in some unguarded moment to disclose her secrets or to betray her friends. But Mary was no spoiled child of fortune to cry out like Norfolk at the sight of danger. Her bitter experience of the past four years had furnished her, apparently, with an inexhaustible supply of fortitude and patience; and when Shrewsbury, in obedience to his orders, sought to "provoke her to answer somewhat," she gave him an answer both prompt and clear, but by no means

[1] This information Burghley must have obtained through Fitzwilliam, for the letters of Ridolphi never fell into his hands.

[2] Lodge, i. 543. This letter is erroneously printed in Lodge under the date of September 1572, but the contents clearly show that it was written in 1571, immediately after the discovery of the Norfolk conspiracy. The error has arisen from Burghley having omitted the year when dating the letter.

such a one as Burghley or his mistress expected or desired.

Three days after the date of Cecil's letter, Shrewsbury demanded an interview with his prisoner. He then proceeded to inform her that her attempts to effect her escape had been discovered; that it was further known that she had sought, by means of foreign aid, to stir up a rebellion in England; that she had offered to send her son to Spain, and that she herself contemplated a marriage with Don Carlos. He informed her further that, in consequence of these discoveries, he had received orders to curtail the degree of liberty she had hitherto enjoyed, and to reduce the number of her attendants to sixteen; that all above that number must take their departure forthwith—such as were natives of Scotland to return thither, and such as were French to retire to France. That she might be the more unguarded in any reply she might make to this harsh message, Shrewsbury had taken the precaution that none of her servants or attendants should be present at the interview.

But Mary was in no ways discomposed. She replied to her keeper on the spot that she had come of her own free-will to England, relying on the promises of friendship and hospitality received from his mistress, but that she had been treated as a prisoner ever since; that although she was an independent sovereign, accountable neither to the Queen of England nor to any one else, she had been willing to enter into a treaty for her restoration; and it was preposterous that, because his mistress had failed to keep her word, she should now complain of her attempts to obtain her liberty by other means. It was true that she had

sought assistance from the Kings of France and Spain to aid her in recovering her authority in her own dominions, but it was false that she had stirred up rebellion in the dominions of his mistress. As to her alleged offer to send her son to Spain, that was an affair with which the Queen of England had no concern; but the rumour was untrue, and for this sufficient reason, that her son was not in her power, and it was not her custom to make promises she was unable to perform. The offer, such as it was, came not from her, but from her dear friend the late Queen of Spain,[1] whose letters were still in her possession, and who a short time before her death had proposed a marriage between her daughter and the Prince of Scotland. She was now, she added, about to be deprived of the little liberty she still enjoyed, and against this fresh act of tyranny she solemnly protested in the name of heaven.[2]

To Lord Burghley himself, on the following day, she addressed a spirited remonstrance. She reminded him that she had not failed "one jot of the promises" she had made to him and to Sir Walter Mildmay at Chatsworth, and that it had ever been her sincere desire to carry out the provisions of the treaty. She complained of her close confinement at Sheffield, which was most injurious to her health, and of the proposed reduction in the number of her servants. Not one of them dared to return to Scotland—for in the eyes of her enemies their fidelity to her was

[1] Elizabeth of France, third wife of Philip, and daughter of Henry II. She had been educated along with Mary, and they remained constant friends until the death of Elizabeth, which took place in 1568. —Labanoff, iii. 230, note.

[2] Labanoff, iii. 364.

an unpardonable crime; and the Earl of Shrewsbury refused to furnish them with passports to France. What, she asked, was to become of William Douglas, who had saved her life at Lochleven? Was he to be butchered like the rest? And her "French servants who had served her faithfully for so many years, were they to be deprived at once of their means of existence? Even when she was kept a close prisoner and in danger of her life at Lochleven, they were allowed to remain in Scotland; now they were to be dispersed, she knew not where. She finally declared that if they persevered in their cruel treatment of her and her poor servants, she would to her latest hour, before both God and man, assert that his mistress and her ministers were the authors of her death."[1]

It is hardly necessary to say that Burghley and his mistress remained deaf to these appeals. Indeed, the terms actually imposed upon the captive queen were still harsher than those at first announced by Shrewsbury. He had informed Mary that the number of her servants and attendants was to be reduced to sixteen; but on the following day, in consequence, no doubt, of fresh instructions, he, to use his own words, "told her roundly that all above the number of ten persons must depart from her, and that with speed."[2] Mary seems to have regarded this fresh announcement as the prelude to her death, and she naturally expressed her apprehensions to her keeper, as well as an earnest hope that if his mistress had resolved to take her life, she would at least allow her to confer with a minister of her own religion, that

[1] Labanoff, iii. 372. [2] Wright, i. 396.

the world might know that she died a Christian woman, a true prince, and in the Catholic faith which she professed." We learn from this request that, in addition to her sufferings, all spiritual aid was persistently denied to her.

Shrewsbury assured her that her life was in no danger, and requested her to select the ten attendants whom she wished to retain in her service. But, overcome with sorrow and resentment at the arbitrary and capricious orders of her keeper, she refused to make any selection. "She answered for anything that I could do," says Shrewsbury, "that she would name none; 'Let the queen,' saith she, 'do with me what she will.'"[1] Out of thirty-nine servants and attendants of the Scottish queen, Shrewsbury accordingly himself selected the required number.

In the course of the following week her dismissed attendants took their departure; but in the interval —in consequence, apparently, of Mary's energetic remonstrance — Elizabeth relented, and they were all allowed to proceed to France. On their taking their leave, Mary addressed to them, in writing, an affectionate farewell. After expressing her sorrow for the loss of their faithful services, she informed them that she had written to her ambassador in Paris on their behalf, which was the only service it was now in her power to render them. "I desire," she continued, "that you entreat my uncles to use their influence with the king, the queen-mother, and the Duke of Anjou, on behalf of my poor subjects, and if I die in this place, to take my son under their protection, in accordance with the ancient league between France

[1] Wright, i. 397; letter of 9th September.

and Scotland. Commend me to Lord Fleming, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, to George Douglas, and all my faithful subjects. Tell them to be of good courage, and not to be cast down by my misfortunes. Let all of them do their utmost to procure aid for our friends from every quarter, and not indulge in unavailing fears regarding me; for I am well content to bear all kinds of sufferings, even death itself, rather than betray the independence of my country. If I die, I shall only regret that I shall be without the means of recompensing their services and the sacrifices they have made for me. I trust that in this case God will not leave them unrewarded, and that my son and my allies among the Catholic princes will take them under their protection. And you, William Douglas,"[1] she continued, "rest assured that the life which was hazarded for mine shall never be rendered destitute so long as I possess a friend in all the world. Do not, I advise you, part company for the present, but go in a body to my ambassador in France, and give him all the information in your power respecting me and mine. With an afflicted heart I pray to God that in His infinite mercy He may protect my country and my faithful subjects, that He may pardon those who have so cruelly persecuted me, and that He may graciously enable both you and me to conform in all things to His will."[2]

It would have been much more merciful to their prisoner, it would have spared them a world of anxiety

[1] Lord Fleming, George Douglas, and William Douglas were all Protestants.

[2] Labanoff, iii. 378-382.

and trouble, and it would in no degree have injured their reputation with posterity, if, instead of prolonging her unhappy life, Burghley and his mistress had now anticipated by sixteen years the tragedy of Fotheringhay. That he would willingly have consented to the death of the Scottish queen at this time is certain. So long as she lived, and more especially so long as she lived in England, he professed to believe that his mistress and his religion were in perpetual danger; and this conviction was no doubt strengthened by a lively sense of private interest. He knew that if his mistress died, her cousin was next in succession to the crown. He further knew, and she too knew, that from the hour when she first set foot in England, he had been the most constant, energetic, and persevering of her enemies. He had done his best to destroy her reputation; he had urged Elizabeth to deprive her of her liberty, if not to take her life. Could he ever hope for her forgiveness should she one day become his sovereign? And was he not, in accordance with the savage maxims of the age, bound to secure himself by any practicable means against so obvious a danger? To his chief colleagues in the Council, to Leicester and Bedford, to Bacon and Sadler, the same remarks apply. All were new men, who owed their political power and their worldly prosperity to the Reformation; and all had reason to tremble for their lives and fortunes in the event, by no means improbable, of Mary Stewart ascending the English throne. Although in Scotland she had treated her enemies with singular forbearance and humanity, her subsequent experience might possibly induce her to adopt a different policy. Such we may suppose to have been the

secret sentiments of Burghley and his friends; for if it is true that we hate those we have injured, it is no less true that we place but small reliance on their generosity should they ever have it in their power to injure us.

The motives which influenced Elizabeth in her treatment of her kinswoman were, as her conduct clearly showed, of a much more complicated and fluctuating kind. The policy of Burghley and his friends was one of steady and vigilant hostility, varying in intensity according to circumstances, but never swerving from the point. They had regarded with unmixed satisfaction the deposition of Mary and her imprisonment at Lochleven. But we have seen that Elizabeth, instead of sharing the sentiments of her ministers, to her lasting credit regarded the situation of her sister queen with genuine sympathy, as well as with genuine sorrow, for the unworthy part she had taken in contributing to her misfortunes.[1] When, in opposition to the wishes of her advisers, she invited her rival to seek an asylum in England, we have no reason to doubt the sincerity of her motives; and when Mary, relying on her warm professions of friendship, resolved, in an evil hour for both, to accept her proffered hospitality, none but the bitterest enemies of the English queen can believe that she deliberately intended to entrap her unsuspecting guest. But from the moment of Mary's arrival in England, the conduct of Elizabeth became once more perplexed. Her ministers assured her that the liberty of the Queen of Scots was incompatible with her own security. The earnestness and the unanimity with which this opinion was expressed, induced her to

[1] Vol. i. 359.

waver; and she finally, as she too often did, allowed her fears to overpower her judgment. But although she consented to the detention of her sister queen, it is by no means probable that she regarded the prospect of her succeeding to the English crown with the same lively apprehensions as her ministers. She had nothing to fear from that event, provided it took place in the course of nature; and as for the rival religions, she would certainly in her heart have preferred the Papists to the Puritans. It is easy, therefore, to perceive on many occasions a conflict both of policy and interest between her and her ministers regarding the Scottish queen. Years of unwearied perseverance at length enabled Burghley and his friends to triumph in the contest; and it is to their account that posterity will charge the chief share in the guilt of Mary's murder.

For several months after the departure of her servants, she was treated with a degree of harshness which threatened soon to put an end to her existence. At the present day, we allow our convicted felons a sufficient amount of air and exercise to preserve them in bodily health; we supply them with medicine when they are sick; and we furnish them both in health and in sickness with abundant means of spiritual instruction and advice. But all these privileges were denied to the prisoner at Sheffield, who was proved to have done nothing except what Burghley himself declared she had a right to do. Active by temperament, and from her early youth delighting much in outdoor exercises, she was now strictly confined to her own apartments. She was only at times allowed, as an especial favour, to breathe the air of heaven from the leads of her prison; and on such occasions she was in-

variably accompanied by her keeper and his termagant countess, the famous Bess of Hardwick.[1] All intercourse between her attendants and those of the earl was prohibited; her correspondence was intercepted; and among the petty indignities to which she was subjected, she complains that her linen and that of her ladies, instead of being intrusted to women as formerly, was examined by the porters of her "wretched prison."[2] Still Elizabeth was not yet satisfied. She addressed at this time a long letter to Mary, in which, with truly feminine logic, she reproached her prisoner, among other matters, with the cost of her maintenance.[3] This coarse taunt, ridiculous although it now appears, seems to have touched the pride of the captive queen; for some time afterwards she expressed to Shrewsbury, with indiscreet generosity, her willingness to defray the expenses of her own imprisonment.[4] But Elizabeth, satisfied with inflicting needless annoyance on her prisoner, thought fit to let the matter drop. She probably saw that if Mary defrayed the cost of her maintenance, and that of her attendants, it would be impossible to refuse them a greater amount of liberty than they had hitherto enjoyed.

The close confinement to which Mary was now subjected would have been alone sufficient to undermine

[1] Shrewsbury to Burghley; Wright, i. 401.

[2] Mary to Fénelon, 7th November; Labanoff, iii. 394.

[3] Elizabeth to Mary, 1st February 1572; Ellis, iii. 1, 2d series.

[4] That she was "rather desirous to bear her own charges."—Shrewsbury to Walsingham; Lodge, ii. 28. We learn from a letter of Morgan, Mary's agent in Paris, that she had a clear revenue from her properties in France of 30,000 crowns a-year.—See Murdin, 495. It would have taken fully a third of her income to have defrayed her expenses, and that of her attendants and guards, at Sheffield Castle. Castelnau estimated these at 12,000 crowns a-year.—Teulet, iii. 87.

the strongest frame; and severely aggravated as her sufferings were by mental distress, we need not be surprised that her health declined with alarming rapidity. In the beginning of December, her physician[1] applied in the most urgent terms to Burghley for various medicines, which he deemed essential for his patient; and he added that unless she was allowed more air and exercise, his prescriptions would avail but little. We can well imagine the stoical composure[2] with which the secretary received this news. Shrewsbury had done his duty admirably well. It was only necessary to persevere a little longer, and without the aid of the assassin, without the scandal and the danger of a public trial, they would be relieved for ever of their arch-enemy.[3] Mary's physician accordingly received no answer to his application, and Elizabeth was most probably kept in ignorance of its existence.

[1] His letter is in the Cotton Library; Caligula, c. iii. 213. The original is in Latin; a translation has been published by Miss Strickland, Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vii. 151.

[2] "He can tell you how straitly the Queen of Scots is kept, having now but ten persons of her own of all sorts. She pretendeth a great fear of her life, and craveth a ghostly father, being Catholic."—Burghley to Walsingham, 7th December 1571; Digges, 152.

[3] This language may appear to some of my readers unwarrantable; but that the hostility of Burghley to the Queen of Scots was both deep and strong, is a matter beyond dispute. It appears that the secretary was even capable of *inventing* the most odious calumnies against her. We find that, after the murder of Riccio, he informed M. Paul de Foix, the French ambassador in London, that the Italian had been killed by Darnley in the act of committing adultery with the queen. Mr Allan Crosbie, in his preface to the Calendar of State Papers (Foreign series) for the year 1566, truly remarks, that when Cecil told this story, he knew perfectly well the real circumstances under which the murder had been committed. He knew, from Randolph's and Bedford's letters, that it was a political, and not a domestic crime. Yet the French ambassador implicitly believed the slanderous tale which had been told to him, as we may learn from his reply to Burghley, which was as follows:—

But Mary was endowed with powers of endurance far beyond the calculations of her keepers. It even appeared that her spirit rose as her bodily health declined, and that each new indignity to which she

"Cum tuū nuntiū intempesta nocte post secūdam vigiliam graviter quatientem ostiū semisomnus audirem stupore repente correptus totus exhorrui. Acceptis vero literis tuis cum in eorum initio viderem purgandi tui causa multas adferre excusationes, valdeque diffidenter et quasi reffugientem vix tandem narrationem inchoase, quod deterius erat (ut fere fit) Scoticam in æternā clausisse lumina noctem sum suspicatus. Cum vero ea quae narrabantur mīora concepta opinione viderem, leviora, quae per se gravissima erant, visa sūt. *Quid enim gravius esse potest, quā deforme et villissimū mācipiū a marito reginā nefario stupro polluēs deprehensum ab ejusqz manibus vix avulsū, multorū, indignitate rei permotorū, ictibus necatū esse:* eūdemque maritū, contūelia tam acerba neglecta, clā noctu cū eādem, ab iis qui eū quo poterāt dignitatis ornamēto honestare cupiebant, aufugisse: & quod est deterius quem auxilii causa evocarat, et quocū firmæ pactiones intercesserant, tanquā de se male meritū inimicū atque hoste appellasse. Cui quātum ego existimo, nihil conducibilius evenire potuit: Cū eo tempore quo minimū illi officere quivit, suā mobilitatem et levitatē ita prodiderit, ut in posterū illi minus fidens falli nequeat. Verum hæc mihi acerbissima accidere, quod illi reginæ bene cupiā, et tantas eam contrahere culpas iniquissimo animo feram. Nam multa in ea erant egregia ad virtutem quæ maximopere et iis qui illi parēt, et amicis, et christiano orbi adjūento et ornamēto esse potuissent, si illis recte uti quā abuti maluisset. Sed revera ita solent christianæ religionis desertores dū ad Dei hostem transfugiūt, ab eo execati in hos tragicos furores impelli. Scriptū enim est, tenere eū captivas mētes impiorū. Tu tamē, quod existimo suasor eris et impulsor Reginæ tuæ, ut labantē et ferme prostatā, quātum in ea erit, fulciat et erigat. Ita tamē ne aliis ruinæ occasiōem præbeat. Nam pietas et virtus pura, simplex et aperta, dum ex sua natura cæteros fingit credulitate sua, in hominū versutorū et multipliciū laqueos facīle incidit. Et hoc est quod traditur, filios hujus seculi prudentiores in generatiōe sua filiis lucis: Ego certe illi simul et piis omnibus optime cōsultū esse velim, ut tamē ex horum casu et pernicie majorē sim dolorē accepturus. Cæterum agnosco humāitem tuam quod ita amāter et aperte de istis rebus, quae me maxime solicitū habent, scripseris et rogo ut si quid ex illo tempore ad te perlatū est, vel huic, cui tuto comittere potes, dicas: vel literis scribas, quod cōmodo tamē tuo & salva fide fieri possit.

"Vale et me semper ama—decimo Calendas Aprilis.

"Tui amātissimus & ex animo tuus

"Paul de Foix.

"(In dorso) 23 Martii 1565. The Fr. Emb to my Mr. Monsr. Monsr.

was exposed supplied her with fresh courage. Buchanan's 'Detection' had been published in London in the beginning of this winter, under the auspices of Burghley; and a copy of the libel, which first appeared in Latin, was presented to the captive queen by one of his emissaries named Bateman. Whether he sent it of his own accord, or whether it was intended as a Christmas present from his mistress, we do not know; but Mary received with quiet scorn this filthy token of the malice of her enemies. She had asked, she said, for a priest to administer to her the holy sacrament, and they sent instead an obscene book written by that atheist Buchanan,[1] whom her rebels in Scotland had intrusted with the education of her son. Of the utter baseness of the man, whom she had raised from indigence to wealth, and who had now become the hired slanderer of his benefactress, she did not deign to speak. The ingratitude of those she had befriended in the days of her prosperity had ceased to excite resentment or surprise. But she appealed to the King of France, and

Cecille Principal Secretr. de la Royne d'Angre. et Conseill en son Prive Conseil."—Foreign State Papers, France, 1566, vol. xxxix.

"I certify that the foregoing is a true and authentic copy.

"H. J. SHARPE,

"Assist.-Keeper of Public Records.

"23d Decr. 1872."

Why Burghley should have thus ventured to impose upon the French ambassador is easily explained. Paul de Foix was known to incline to the Huguenot doctrines (see Teulet, ii. 175, note), and he would therefore the more readily give credit to the atrocious calumny which, if Mary had not defeated the schemes of Riccio's assassins, would no doubt have been speedily circulated throughout Europe.

As it is, we may infer from Burghley's conduct on this occasion that, if the plot had succeeded, the queen's enemies would have been quite prepared to produce evidence of her guilt with Riccio, as they afterwards produced the casket in proof of her guilt with Bothwell.

[1] Labanoff, iv. 5.

through him to all Christian princes, against this fresh and monstrous outrage. Lord Burghley, however, had been beforehand with her. He had privately sent abroad [1] copies of Buchanan's libel; and when Fénelon, in obedience to his instructions, requested Elizabeth to suppress the publication, she pretended that it was not in her power to do so, as the book had been printed in Scotland [2] and in Germany. She then artfully changed the subject by complaining in her turn of Fénelon's correspondence with Mary's partisans in Scotland, a fact which he made no attempt to deny. But it was in vain that he sought to recover the 2000 crowns which the Shrewsbury carrier had placed in Burghley's hands, and which in reality belonged to the Queen of Scots.[3] Everything in the shape of treasure, whether great or small, and whether seized on sea or land, was deemed lawful prize by Elizabeth; and the only answer Fénelon could obtain was, that the money "must be demanded of them to whom he delivered it"[4]—in other words, from Higford, who was at the time a close prisoner in the Tower.

When Elizabeth told the French ambassador that the 'Detection' had been published in Scotland and in Germany, she not only knew the statement to be untrue, but she knew that at the time an English edition of the book was being prepared by Dr Thomas Wilson, Master of the Court of Requests,

[1] See in Digges, 151, his letter to Walsingham in Paris, sending "the little treatise." He adds, "I hear it is to be translated into English, with addition of many other supplements." When Burghley wrote this, he knew that he himself had employed Dr Wilson to translate it.

[2] Fénelon, iv. 305. [3] Ibid.

[4] Digges, 138. Burghley says the French ambassador was "much offended" with the answer.

under the immediate eye of Burghley.[1] The 'Detection' was in fact little more than a paraphrase of the Book of Articles,[2] with a declamatory rhapsody[3] appended to it, of which a specimen has already been presented to the reader. It was published at this time for the obvious purpose of reviving the now forgotten slanders against the Scottish queen; but it is to be observed that, although Bishop Leslie's Defence of his mistress had appeared upwards of six months before, the author of the 'Detection' made no attempt at a reply. The bishop, in his Defence, had made two allegations, which, if true, were decisive of the matter in dispute. He asserted that the letters produced at Westminster, and so carefully withheld from the inspection of his mistress, were forged;[4] and he further asserted that Paris, the only witness whose testimony directly implicated the queen, publicly proclaimed her innocence in presence of the multitude assembled at his execution.[5] Upon both of these points Buchanan is discreetly silent. He says not a word in proof of the authenticity of the letters; nor does he once refer to the all-important testimony of Paris. Yet, if the statement made by the bishop was untrue, no one was better entitled to contradict it than Buchanan. His name, as we have seen, is appended as a witness to the so-called deposition of the French page;[6] but, as they never ventured to produce this extraordinary docu-

[1] Goodall, ii. 371.

[2] See vol. i., Appendix B.

[3] The Oration, see vol. i. 170.

[4] See Leslie's Defence in Anderson.

[5] "For as for him that ye surmise was the bearer of them" (the letters to Bothwell), "and whom you have executed of late for the said murder, he at the time of his said execution took it upon his death, as he should answer before God, that he never carried any such letters, nor that the queen was participant," &c.—Anderson.

[6] See vol. i. 249 *et seq.*

ment,[1] the statement of the bishop, for the best of reasons, remained unchallenged.

That indefatigable partisan of Mary was at this time a prisoner in the Tower. There had also been arrested on suspicion the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, the Lord Lumley, Lord Cobham the Lord Warden, Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley, sons of the Earl of Derby; and various other persons of inferior rank. That they were amenable to the law was certain; but how to deal with the Bishop of Ross was another question. It was now well known that he was implicated in the Ridolphi plot. But he had been received by Elizabeth as the representative of an independent princess; and the only punishment which, by the usages of Christendom, could, in any case, be inflicted on an ambassador, was expulsion from the country to which he was accredited. Thomas Randolph had been detected some five years before in practices still more treasonable than those which could be proved against the Bishop of Ross; and Mary, in accordance with established rule, simply sent the English envoy out of her dominions. But expediency was the sole rule of Elizabeth's policy, and the liberties of individuals and the rights of nations were held of no account when weighed against the supposed necessities of the hour. The bishop had long been an object of suspicion. He was naturally believed to be in posses-

[1] On the 8th November 1571, we find Dr Wilson writing to Lord Burghley requesting him to "send unto me *Paris closely sealed*, and it shall not be known whence it cometh."—Murdin, 57. Why Paris should have been kept closely sealed we can well understand.—See vol. i. 249. There was probably at this time some notion of publishing the deposition of Paris along with the 'Detection,' but we may assume that Burghley was too prudent to allow the queen's enemies to make so flagrant an exposure of their folly and falsehood.

sion of many dangerous secrets; and in spite of his privilege of an ambassador, and in spite of the safe-conduct he had received before he entered England,[1] it was determined to treat him as an ordinary criminal, and to force him to divulge all he knew. A pretext for this extraordinary proceeding was soon discovered by Lord Burghley. He obtained an opinion from certain doctors of civil law, who maintained that an ambassador taking the part of rebels against the sovereign to whom he was accredited, might be punished like a private individual.[2] If this opinion was correct, Randolph ought to have been executed in Scotland when he was detected aiding Murray's rebellion; but it seems that Mary knew the law of nations better than the servile doctors consulted by Lord Burghley. Such as it was, however, their opinion satisfied the Council; and the bishop was informed that he must divulge all he knew, or be subjected to torture like any ordinary criminal. He protested vehemently against this flagrant injustice, and appealed for protection to Elizabeth. Ashamed apparently of the proceeding, she privately sent him word that if he would submit to be examined his testimony should be regarded as confidential, and should not be produced against his mistress or her friends.[3] With this assurance he at length consented to answer a vast number of questions propounded to him by the Council; and

[1] See Murdin, 55.

[2] "We are of opinion that an ambassador procuring an insurrection or rebellion in the prince's country towards whom he is ambassador, ought not, *jure gentium et civili Romanorum*, to enjoy the privileges otherwise due to an ambassador, but that he may notwithstanding be punished for the same."—Murdin, 18. No authority or precedent is given for this remarkable opinion.

[3] Leslie's Negotiations, in Anderson.

such credit as can be attached to testimony extorted in secret by threats of violence, and afterwards produced by those who so obtained it, will be given by the impartial reader to his examination.

Reference has already been made to the most important piece of evidence said to have been elicited from the bishop against his mistress in the course of these proceedings. It was to the effect that, during the conference at York in 1568, Maitland privately sent her word that the Regent Murray was bent upon producing the evidence he possessed against her, and that she wished him "to stay these rigorous accusations"—the inference being plain that she was afraid to meet them. But we cannot allow this account of a conversation, more than three years old, and obtained by such suspicious means, to weigh for a moment against the letter of the Earl of Sussex, which was written confidentially to Cecil on the spot. Sussex at York, with the full knowledge of all that was passing around him, stated that Murray was most reluctant to produce his proofs, lest the tables should be turned against him;[1] and it has been clearly shown that Sussex was right, and that the regent was only forced at last to exhibit his casket by one of the many ingenious "practices" of Cecil.

That the secretary and his friends should display at this time a spirit of intense hostility against the Bishop of Ross we should naturally expect; but that they should discover a strong similarity of character between him and their former ally the Regent Murray may occasion some surprise. Such, however, was the fact. In a letter to Lord Burghley, Sir Thomas Smith and Dr Wilson thus describe the bishop and his proto-

[1] See letter of Sussex; vol. i., Appendix A.

type: "A very firebrand of sedition, *such a one as your lordship knew one was who now is dead.* They two had been able to have set two realms together by the ears, the one with the zeal of Papistry, *the other with the contrary*, and both to serve their turn of ambition rather than of any other devotion."[1] It would thus appear that the true character of Murray was thoroughly understood by his English confederates, and that in private they made no secret of their opinion, although in public it was necessary to speak in very different terms of the godly regent.

The Spanish ambassador was quite as deeply implicated in the Ridolphi plot as the Bishop of Ross; and if the legal opinion obtained by Lord Burghley was correct, it is plain that D'Espés ought also to have been sent to the Tower, and examined at the peril of his life. But the King of Spain was in a very different position from the captive Queen of Scotland; and the glorious and decisive victory won by Don John of Austria over the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto in the autumn of this year,[2] promised to render Philip as power-

[1] Murdin, 102. The regent is not named in the letter, but the description can apply to no one else.

[2] The battle, which was fought on the 7th of October 1571, is thus described by Mr Motley: "The fleet was arranged in three divisions. The Ottomans, not drawn up in crescent form as usual, had the same triple disposition. Barberigo and the other Venetians commanded on the left, John Andrew Doria on the right, while Don John himself and Colonna were in the centre. Crucifix in hand, the high admiral rowed from ship to ship, exhorting generals and soldiers to show themselves worthy of a cause which he had persuaded himself was holy. Fired by his eloquence and by the sight of the enemy, his hearers answered with eager shouts, while Don John returned to his ship, knelt on the quarter-deck, and offered a prayer. He then ordered the trumpets to sound the assault, commanded his sailing-master to lay him alongside the Turkish admiral, and the battle began. The Venetians, who were first attacked, destroyed ship after ship of their assailants after a close and

ful on the sea as he already was on land. Burghley could not venture to set the law of nations at defiance by imprisoning the ambassador of the most powerful monarch in the world. But Don Gueraldo was summoned before the Council to answer for his conduct, where, to the astonishment of all, and without apology or explanation, he boldly denounced Lord Burghley as the real disturber of the public peace, and declared that he, and he alone, was the cause of the estrangement between his mistress and the King of Spain. Don Gueraldo, instead of waiting to be accused, became thus unexpectedly the accuser; and there was so much truth in the charges he had preferred, that the secretary, to use his own words, "replied in more modest terms than he deserved."[1] The Spanish ambassador knew well that his master had sought no quarrel with the Queen of England. In the Netherlands, in the Levant, and in America, he had already abundant work upon his hands. He was therefore sincerely desirous of peace with Elizabeth; but, as every one believed, at the instigation of Burghley, she had plundered

obstinate contest; but Barberigo fell dead ere the sunset, with an arrow through his brain. Meantime the action, immediately after the first onset, had become general. From noon till evening the battle raged with a carnage rarely recorded in history. Don John's own ship lay yard-arm and yard-arm with the Turkish admiral, and exposed to the fire of seven large vessels besides. It was a day when personal audacity, not skilful tactics, was demanded, and the imperial bastard showed the metal he was made of. The Turkish admiral's ship was destroyed, his head exposed from Don John's deck upon a pike, and the trophy became the signal for a general panic and a complete victory. By sunset the battle had been won. Of nearly three hundred Turkish galleys, but fifty made their escape. From twenty-five to thirty thousand Turks were slain, and perhaps ten thousand Christians."—Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic, iii. 139.

[1] Digges, 162.

his commerce, laid waste his colonies, intercepted his treasure, subsidised his rebels, and even converted an English seaport into a mart for the sale of Spanish prisoners whose friends were rich enough to pay a ransom for their freedom.[1] All this Don Gueraldo knew; but he did not know in addition that he and his master had been egregiously duped and swindled by Hawkins and Fitzwilliam, with the aid of Burghley, or his language would probably have been still more strong. As it was, the Earl of Sussex, who seems to have been the ablest of all Elizabeth's ministers, made a speech in Italian, in which Don Gueraldo was informed that he must quit England with all convenient speed. He embarked, accordingly, at Gravesend a few days afterwards; and Burghley arranged, with playful treachery,[2] that the vessel which carried him to France was commanded by Sir John Hawkins, whom he still believed to be his friend. During the voyage the old buccaneer, who no doubt enjoyed the joke, was profuse in his professions of attachment to the King of Spain, and left the ambas-

[1] See Froude, x. 240.

[2] That Burghley in his younger days was given to practical jokes, and that he could turn them on occasion to a practical account, we learn from a very partial biographer. It appears that while he was a student at Gray's Inn, the future secretary lost all his money, as well as his bedding and his books, one night at play, to a neighbour who occupied the adjoining chambers. To recover his property he had recourse to a device which is thus described by his biographer: "With a long trompe he made a hole in the wall near his playfellow's bed-head, and in a fearful voice thus spoke through the trompe, 'O mortal man! repent! repent of thy horrible time, consumed in play, cozenage, and lewdness, or else thou art damned, and cannot be saved!' Which, being spoken at midnight, when he was all alone, so amazed him, as drove him into a sweat for fear. Most penitent and heavy the next day, calling for Mr Cecill, asked him forgiveness on his knees, and restored all his money, bedding, and books," &c.—Quoted by Dr Nares, Life and Times of Lord Burghley, i. 59.

sador at Calais in the firm belief that he had purchased for his master the services of the first of English seamen.

While the prospects of Mary were thus darkening on every side, events of much importance had taken place in Scotland. During the negotiations for the Chatsworth treaty, a truce had been agreed upon between her adherents and those of the regent. It expired on the last day of March; and before that time Lennox, whose headquarters were at Glasgow, had resolved upon an enterprise which, if successful, promised materially to affect the progress of the contest.

During all the vicissitudes of the last four years, Lord Fleming, Protestant though he was, had faithfully held Dumbarton Castle for the queen. Perched on the summit of a precipitous rock, and commanding the navigation of the Clyde, the fortress was important as well from its natural strength as from the means which it afforded to the queen's adherents of keeping up their communications with the Continent. It was from Dumbarton that Mary, when a child of six years old, had sailed for France, in defiance of her imperious grand-uncle Henry VIII.; and the French ambassador in Scotland, M. de Verac, was at this time the guest of Lord Fleming. To lay siege to such a place, containing as it did a sufficient garrison and abundant supplies of every kind, must have been a tedious, costly, and uncertain operation; but a retainer of Lennox, named Thomas Crawford,[1] volunteered to attempt its capture by surprise. As Crawford had already earned a reputation for ability and daring, his

[1] The same person whose deposition was produced at Westminster in 1568.

offer was accepted; and it was determined that the attempt should be made on the night immediately following the expiration of the truce.

Crawford selected only a hundred men for the expedition. Among them was a soldier who had served in the castle, and who undertook to guide the assailants up the rock at the point where it was steepest, and where, accordingly, an attack was least expected. At nightfall, on the 1st of April, Crawford with his little band set out from Glasgow, and after an expeditious march they silently approached the fortress in single file some time before daybreak. A heavy mist, which in the early morning overhung the summit of the rock, while the base remained clear, enabled Crawford to commence his operations unobserved. By means of ladders and ropes, with which he was amply provided, he then contrived with a portion of his adventurous comrades to clamber up the face of the precipice, until, overcoming every obstacle, they gained at last a precarious footing at the base of the castle wall. They well knew that discovery at this point would have cost the lives of every man; and, breathless with their exertions, and listening intently for the faintest murmur from within, they at length fixed their ladders for the final effort. All was silent still, until Crawford, with his guide and a few of his more adventurous followers, sprang from the rampart, and, shouting the Lennox war-cry[1] with all their might, overpowered the nearest sentinel. The rest of the assailants quickly cleared the wall; and the panic-stricken garrison, roused from their slumbers in the grey dawn by the clash of arms and the shouts of their enemies, of whose

[1] "A Darnley! a Darnley!"

strength they were in utter ignorance, made hardly an attempt at resistance. Lord Fleming alone had the presence of mind in the confusion to effect his escape by a postern gate, and made his way in a boat across the Clyde. Crawford had no men to spare for the pursuit of the governor, for he had captured various prisoners of consequence, who required to be safely guarded. Among these was Lady Fleming, the Archbishop of St Andrews, the French ambassador De Verac, and John Hall, a gentleman of Derbyshire, who, two years before, had been concerned with Leonard Dacre and Sir Edward Stanley in the plot for carrying off the Queen of Scots from Wingfield. A goodly supply of arms, money, and provisions also fell into the hands of the victors, who were fortunate enough to achieve one of the most brilliant enterprises on record without the loss of a single man.[1]

Lennox could not venture to make a prisoner of the French ambassador, nor could he in decency detain Lady Fleming. But he did not scruple to deliver up the English fugitive to the Marshal of Berwick. With the Archbishop Hamilton the regent had a long account to settle, and the method was speedily determined. The unfortunate prelate represented the family whose pretensions to the Scottish crown had been declared to be superior to those of the house of Lennox; and his hereditary hatred of the name of Hamilton[2] was intensified by rumours, invented appa-

[1] Cecil, who was confined to his bed by gout at the time, expressed his utmost satisfaction at the capture of Dumbarton. "It is," he said, "of greater importance than Edinburgh Castle, considering it was *receptaculum* to all the queen's foreign aid."—Letter to Walsingham; Digges, 78. Dated by mistake 7th March, instead of 7th April.

[2] Lennox pretended that the Duke of Chatelherault was illegitimate

rently for the occasion, that the archbishop was the chief contriver of Darnley's murder. Partisans of the late regent, too, asserted that he had hired his kinsman Bothwellhaugh to play the assassin at Linlithgow; and Drury had insinuated that he had pronounced the divorce between Bothwell and his wife to pave the way for a marriage which was sure to bring ruin on the queen, and thus leave only her infant son between the Hamiltons and the crown. We have not the smallest proof that any one of these allegations was true; yet modern historians[1] have vied with Knox and Buchanan in the violence with which they have assailed the character of Archbishop Hamilton. They forget that in that age the most reckless and unfounded charges were made against every person, of whatever character or creed, who took a prominent part in public affairs; and it is a circumstance strongly in favour of this prelate that, notwithstanding the number and the malice of his enemies, their accusations are wholly unsupported by evidence upon which the smallest reliance can be placed. Of the crimes committed by his contemporaries—by Murray and Morton by Maitland and Lennox—we have overwhelming proof; but the death of Walter Mill, the last of the few[2] victims

because his father had unlawfully divorced his first wife, and afterwards married Janet Beatoun, the mother of the duke. If the divorce was illegal, the house of Lennox, and not that of Hamilton, was next in succession to the crown after the Stewarts.—See Crawford's Peerage, 192. But the Parliament of Scotland had decided in favour of the Hamiltons.

[1] "He was believed to have instigated the tragedy of the Kirk-of-Field. His had been the head that planned the death of the regent, though the deed had been committed to the hand of another Hamilton."—Burton, v. 267. "It may be much to say that in all Scotland there was not one man who had better deserved a halter than the Archbishop of St Andrews."—Froude, x. 179.

[2] See vol. i. 22.

of Catholic persecution in Scotland, is the only specific charge for which the archbishop can be held responsible. And in an age when religious persecution was deemed a sacred duty, this act of intolerance can hardly, in the ordinary sense of the term, be regarded as a crime.

But Lennox required no proofs of the archbishop's guilt. It was enough, and more than enough, that he was a Hamilton; and the unfortunate prelate was, in the course of a few days after his capture, hurried off to Stirling, and without even the pretence of a trial, hanged on a gibbet like a common malefactor.[1]

Elated with his success, the regent now resolved to march upon Edinburgh; but after a feeble attempt to besiege the castle, he was forced to retire, leaving the capital entirely in the hands of his opponents. Having some reason to suspect the loyalty of the lord provost and bailies of the town, Kirkaldy even ventured to depose them all,[2] and nominated his son-in-law, the warlike Laird of Fernihirst, to the office of chief magistrate, with a council of his Border vassals to aid him in the performance of his duties.

Meanwhile Sir William Drury received orders from Elizabeth to proceed to Edinburgh and attempt to reconcile the rival factions; and he accordingly held various conferences with Kirkaldy, with Morton, and afterwards with Lennox. But it was shrewdly suspected by Sir James Melvill[3] that the real intention of the English ministers was, under the mask of mediation, to widen the breach between the parties; and he seems to have been justified in his opinion. There

[1] No record remains of his trial and sentence.—Burton, v. 265.
[2] Tytler, vii. chap. iv. [3] Memoirs.

can be no doubt that the miserable state of anarchy to which Scotland was at this time reduced, was to be ascribed mainly, if not solely, to the intrigues of Elizabeth. But for the energetic support which she gave to Morton and to Lennox after Murray's death, the party of the queen must soon have been everywhere triumphant. As it was, the final issue of the contest was still doubtful; for in spite of the loss of Dumbarton, the southern counties were still loyal, and in the north Sir Adam Gordon was everywhere victorious.[1] But whatever may have been Elizabeth's intentions in sending Drury to Scotland at this time, it is certain that his visit was followed by a fierce renewal of the war, in which every kind of outrage was committed by the combatants on either side.

The young king was now five years old; and the regent determined to hold a Parliament at Stirling, at which his grandson should make his appearance in person. Every effort was made to secure a large attendance of the nobility, and on the 2d of September the session was opened with a degree of pomp which had not been witnessed since the deposition of the queen.[2] Kirkaldy, or more probably Maitland—whose singular influence over Grange at this time was attributed by the superstition of the age to enchantment—now perceived a tempting opportunity of avenging the capture of Dumbarton, and even of eclipsing that

[1] Richard Bannatyne, the secretary of Knox, speaking of a victory of Gordon over the Master of Forbes won in the autumn of this year, expresses himself as follows: "By means of this victory Adam Gordon thinks now to play the king; and goes about and takes all gentlemen's places that will not obey the queen; and so rules he all in the north, at this present, as he pleases. God shorten his time," &c.—Bannatyne's Memorials, 213.

[2] Historie of King James the Sext.

achievement by an exploit still more daring and decisive. Stirling was but a few hours' ride from Edinburgh, and by a rapid night-march, Lennox, with his chief supporters, and perhaps the young king himself, might all be captured on the spot, and the war thus brought to a close by one triumphant blow.[1] The leaders selected for this daring expedition were the Earl of Huntly, Lord Claude Hamilton, Fernihirst the newly-appointed Provost of Edinburgh, and the Laird of Buccleuch. Accompanied by four hundred horse they rode leisurely out of Edinburgh on the afternoon of the 3d of September; and, taking the road to Jedburgh, it was given out that they were about to occupy that town for the queen. But as soon as it was dark they wheeled off to the right, and made the best of their way to Stirling, which they approached before daybreak. Leaving their horses at some little distance from the town, they proceeded silently on foot, and entered the deserted streets without meeting an opponent. The house where the regent lodged was speedily surrounded, and he was made a prisoner before he could leave his bed. His chief supporters, including Argyll, who had once more changed sides, with the Earls of Glencairn, Cassilis, Eglinton, Montrose, and Buchan, and the Lords Sempill, Cathcart, and Ochiltree, shared the same fate. But the capture of Morton occasioned some delay, for on the first alarm he contrived to barricade the doors of his lodging, and courageously defended the house until it was set on fire by his assailants. He then surrendered himself a prisoner, begrimed with smoke and dust, to Buccleuch. Believing

[1] Maitland seems to have anticipated by nearly three centuries the famous Parisian plot of December 1851.

their victory to be now complete, the Borderers, according to their custom, commenced the work of pillage; and the numerous fine horses belonging to the nobility and their retainers offered an irresistible temptation to the men of Liddesdale, who emptied every stable with incredible rapidity,[1] and galloping off with their booty, left their leaders to guard the prisoners as they best might. This incident proved fatal to the expedition. The retainers of the regent, who now came flocking to the scene of action, perceiving the insignificant number of their opponents, became in their turn the assailants, and, aided by the Earl of Mar, who sallied opportunely from the castle with a body of fresh troops, speedily retook the whole of the prisoners. But in the confusion the regent received a mortal wound;[2] and with the shouts of his enemies, "Remember the archbishop," ringing in his ears, was carried to his lodgings, where he soon afterwards expired.

Of the leaders of this daring enterprise Buccleuch alone was captured, his comrades effecting their retreat with the loss of only nine men killed and sixteen prisoners. Their loss would have been much greater but for the singular activity of the Liddesdale mosstroopers, who had hardly left a horse behind them, and thus rendered pursuit impossible. The expedition had only failed through want of discipline; and, as it was, Kirkaldy was by no means dissatisfied with the result. He boasted that although Stirling was garrisoned with 2000 men, his troops had, with not a fifth

[1] Tytler, vii. 297 *et seq.*

[2] It is said that he was shot by a Captain Calder, who was afterwards broken on the wheel, a kind of punishment which never appears to have been known in England.—Tytler, vii. 299.

of the number, kept possession of the town for three hours, made prisoners of all the nobility, and carried off much valuable booty.[1]

As the Parliament was sitting, no time was lost in electing a new regent; and after some opposition on the part of Argyll, the Earl of Mar was raised to that dangerous post, which in less than two years had proved fatal to both his predecessors.

[1] Drury to Burghley, 13th Sept.; Record Office.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NORFOLK AND NORTHUMBERLAND.

The Duke of Norfolk had, in accordance with the practice of the times, been subjected after his arrest to a series of rigorous examinations. In the course of these, although he admitted that he had broken his pledge by renewing his correspondence with the Queen of Scots, he emphatically denied that he had ever meditated treason against Elizabeth.[1] But the confessions of his servants, and of the Bishop of Ross, had convinced his mistress of the contrary; and the apparent determination of the first of her nobility to marry her rival in defiance of every obstacle, filled her with resentment and alarm. The examinations of the duke and his supposed accomplices were continued at intervals throughout the winter, and each fresh disclosure was carefully scrutinised by the queen. She even complained — and it is a matter of grave reproach against her—that her councillors used the rack too sparingly; and in one instance she expressly commanded them to persevere with the torture of two witnesses[2] against the duke, after the

[1] See his examinations in Murdin.

[2] Sir Thomas Smith, afterwards one of the Secretaries of State, who

Council believed that they had nothing further to disclose.

Lord Burghley was no less anxious than his mistress to bring the duke to justice. The ancient nobility had ever regarded Elizabeth's favourite minister as their enemy, and nothing would tend more to consolidate his power than the ruin of their acknowledged chief. The Crown lawyers were set to work, and it was resolved that Norfolk should be indicted for high treason. As Parliament was not sitting, the proper tribunal for the trial of a peer was the court of the High Steward; and after four months' close confinement, the duke, on the night of the 15th of January, received notice that on the next morning he was to be arraigned on the gravest charge known to the law of England.[1] Without legal advice, without books, without the smallest information as to the evidence or the witnesses to be produced against him, and denied the privilege of calling witnesses in his defence, he could not but conclude, when he received the summons, that his doom was already sealed.

The trial had been appointed to take place in Westminster Hall, in the upper part of which a raised platform had been erected for the accommodation of

speaks with becoming distaste of the task imposed upon him, expresses himself as follows in a letter to Lord Burghley: "Though we be importune to crave revocation from this unpleasant and painful toil, I pray you be not angry with us. I assure, for my part, I would not wish to be one of Homer's gods if I thought I should be Minos, Æacus, or Radamanthus; I had rather be one of the least *umbrae in Campis Elysiis*. I suppose we have gotten so much as at this time is like to be had; yet to-morrow do we intend to bring a couple of them to the rack, *not in any hope to get anything worthy that pain or fear, but because it is so earnestly commanded unto us.*"—Murdin, 95.

[1] In Scotland at this time the law of treason was more lenient. We have seen that Bothwell received fifteen days' notice.—See vol. i. 289.

the peers, the prisoner, and his accusers. The Earl of Shrewsbury, who had been summoned from Sheffield for the occasion, presided as Lord High Steward. The judges of the courts of common law sat as his assessors, and twenty-six peers were selected to pronounce upon the guilt or innocence of the accused. The demeanour of the duke, when he took his place at the bar in custody of the lieutenant of the Tower, was very different from that which he had exhibited before the Council on the first discovery of the plot. In the presence of his peers and of the citizens of London, with whom he was immensely popular, and who thronged the lower portion of the hall, he no longer played the part of the pusillanimous traitor, ready to purchase life at any price. He seemed now to bear in mind that he was the first subject in the realm, the son of the illustrious Surrey, and the kinsman of the queen.[1] Calmly scanning the countenances of the peers, he betrayed neither surprise nor alarm when he perceived amongst them his worst enemies in the Council. Burghley, the last created of the barons, was there, with his colleagues Bedford and Leicester; and seated by their side were Hertford and Huntingdon, both declared adversaries of the Scottish queen. These men were all to be his judges, yet for this gross injustice Norfolk knew there was no remedy; for by an inexplicable anomaly in the then existing law, the right of challenge, which might be claimed by every commoner, was denied to a peer in the court of the High Steward. Norfolk further knew that the lords were not required to be unanimous in the verdict they

[1] Her grandmother and his grandfather were both children of Thomas Howard, the second Duke of Norfolk.

pronounced, but that a bare majority of voices would decide his fate.[1]

After silence had been proclaimed, the indictment was read by the clerk of the Crown. It contained substantially two charges: first, that in defiance of her majesty's express commands the duke had sought to marry the Queen of Scots; and secondly, that he had sought, by means of foreign aid, to stir up a rebellion in the realm. Upon being called upon to plead, he entreated the court to allow him the aid of counsel. But the Chief-Justice Catline replied that in cases of high treason the law allowed no counsel to the accused. "My lords," rejoined Norfolk, "I am hardly handled in this proceeding. I have had very short warning to provide an answer to so great a matter—not fourteen hours in all. I have had short warning and no books, neither book of statutes nor so much as a breviate of the statutes. I am brought to fight without a weapon."[2] His remonstrances, however, were fruitless, and he finally pleaded "not guilty."

The queen's sergeant, Barham, then opened the case for the Crown, and maintained, in terms of the first charge in the indictment, that the design of the duke to marry the Queen of Scots was in itself "clear and palpable treason." The process of reasoning by which the Crown lawyers arrived at this conclusion may be stated thus: The Queen of Scots had worn the arms and pretended to the crown of England; she had never renounced that pretension: and whoever, therefore, sought to marry her, not only denied the title, but meditated the deposition and the death of the Queen of England.

[1] Jardine's Criminal Trial Remarks, 231. [2] State Trials, i. 966.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY

The crime of treason then was, and still is, defined by the statute of 25th of Edward III.[1] But it was only by a most unwarrantable interpretation of this Act that Norfolk, by seeking to marry the Queen of Scots, could be held to compass his sovereign's death; and he argued the point both with temper and ability. Being pressed by the queen's sergeant to confess that he knew the fact of Mary having worn the arms of England, he said, "I have heard without doubt that, being married to the French king, she made claim during her husband's life to the crown of England, and quartered the arms of England with those of Scotland and France. But I have also heard that Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, who was then ambassador in France, made complaint thereof, and that thereupon it was laid down."

To this the sergeant replied that she had never renounced the claim, although she had been repeatedly required to do so. He then, in direct breach of Queen Elizabeth's promise, read various portions of the examinations of the Bishop of Ross relative to the duke's proceedings during the conference at York. The sergeant charged him with violating his oath as a commissioner by making proposals of marriage to the Scottish queen, even although he believed her to be guilty of the crimes imputed to her. In proof of

[1] The words of the statute are: "Where a man doth compass or imagine the death of our lord the king, the lady his consort, or of their eldest son and heir; and if a man levy war against our said lord the king in his realm, or be adherent to the enemies of our lord the king in the realm, giving to them aid and support in his realm or elsewhere, and thereof be attainted upon due proof of open deed by people of their condition, be it known that in the cases above named there ought to be judgment of treason."—Translation by Luders.

this assertion, there was read an alleged confession of Bannister, the duke's steward, as follows: "I confess that I, waiting of my said lord and master, when the Earl of Sussex, and Vice-Chancellor of the duchy that now is, were in commission of York (which was in the month of October, in the tenth year of the queen's reign), did hear his grace say, that upon examination of the matter of the murder it did appear that the Queen of Scots was guilty, and privy to the murder of the Lord Darnley, her late husband; whereby I verily thought his grace would never join in marriage with her." [1]

"Bannister," interrupted the duke, "was shrewdly cramped when he told that tale. I beseech you, let me have him brought face to face."

"Bannister," rejoined the sergeant, "was no more tortured than yourself." This statement we know to be untrue. Sergeant Barham must also have known it to be untrue, for he was himself present at various of the examinations of Bannister.[2]

It was in vain that the duke required the witnesses themselves to be produced instead of their written depositions, of which only those portions were read which told against him. He was informed by the judges that the practice of examining witnesses in presence of the accused, although allowed in former times, had been found "too hard and dangerous for the prince." Norfolk was thus called upon to answer on the spot long written statements, which he heard

[1] See Murdin, 134.

[2] See Murdin, 143-146. The Attorney of the Wards (Wilbraham) also said in the course of his speech, "The confessions have been made by the parties freely, without torture or constraint."

for the first time, without an opportunity of putting a single question to those who made them, and without the privilege of calling a witness in reply. At one point he protested so loudly against this mockery of justice, that Lord Burghley seems to have considered himself bound in decency to interpose, by inquiring whether the duke had ever applied for leave to summon witnesses and collect proofs for his defence. Norfolk replied that he had many times made this request; whereupon Cecil drily remarked that he had not heard that any such application had been made to her majesty. Yet we cannot doubt that if such an application had been made, he must have been aware of it.

In order to prove the engagement between the Queen of Scots and the duke, there was read the letter of the Regent Murray to Elizabeth, in which he treacherously disclosed the import of the confidential interview which had taken place between him and Norfolk at Hampton Court.[1] That interview, it will be remembered, had not only been sought by Murray himself, but he had sought it with the professed object of reviving the scheme of his sister's marriage with the duke, although we know that in reality the regent was determinedly opposed to it.

After this letter had been read and duly commented upon by the queen's serjeant, the duke exclaimed, "The Earl of Murray sought my life; the others are not of credit. Yet," he truly added, "all these prove not that I dealt in the matter of the marriage with the Scottish queen in any respect of her claim to the crown of England. If the Bishop of Ross or any

[1] See *ante*, vol. i. 480, as to Murray's real object in seeking an interview with the duke.

other can say otherwise, let them be brought before me face to face."

Of the letters of the Queen of Scots to the duke, which had been preserved in so suspicious a manner by Higford, only one was produced. It may therefore be assumed that none of the others contained matter implicating either her or the accused. Nor did the letter in question prove anything, except that Mary regarded herself as the affianced wife of Norfolk, and that she was deeply interested in the fate of the Earl of Northumberland, who she well knew was in extreme peril at the time. The letter of Queen Mary was as follows :—

"I have received, my own good constant lord, your comfortable writings, which are to me as welcome as ever thing was, for the hope I see you are in to have some better fortune nor you had yet through all your friends' favour. And albeit my friend's case in Scotland be of heavy displeasure unto me, yet that was nothing to the fear I had of my son's delivery, and what I thought might be the cause of longer delaying your affairs ; and therefore I took greater displeasure than I have done since, which diminisheth my health a little. The Earl of Shrewsbury came one night so merry to me,[1] showing that the Earl of Northumberland was rendered to the Earl of Sussex, which since I have found false. But at the sudden I took such fear for friends cumbering me, that I wept so that I was all swollen three days after ; but since I have heard from you, I have gone abroad and sought

[1] It appears from this, and other instances, that Shrewsbury was ever on the alert to communicate any piece of unwelcome intelligence to his prisoner.

all means to avoid displeasure for fear of yours. I have no longer leisure, but I trust to write by one of my gentlemen shortly more surely. But I fear at Chatsworth I will get little means to hear from you or to write; but I shall do diligence: and in this mean time I write to the Bishop of Ross to hear your opinion in the usage of the ambassadors to have their master's help, and to follow it; for come what will, I shall never change from you, but during life be true and obedient, as I have professed. And so I pray you think and hold me in your grace as your own, who daily shall pray to God to send you happy and hasty deliverance of all troubles, not doubting but you would not then enjoy alone all your felicities, without remembering your own faithful to death, who shall not have any advancement or rest without you. And so I leave to trouble you, but commend you to God. At Tutbury, the 17th day of May 1570. Your own M."[1]

On this letter being read, the duke truly said that "it touched him not;" and we cannot but feel surprise that the Crown lawyers should have bestowed so much labour on this part of the case when they had evidence against the duke of a much more serious kind. But we believe that their conduct may be explained. On the first discovery of the engagement between Mary and Norfolk two years before, Elizabeth had been so transported with rage that she determined to charge the duke with high treason. But Cecil dissuaded her from

[1] This letter is not printed in Howell's State Trials. It is to be found in the Harleian MSS., No. 290, and Hardwick's State Papers, i. 192. As Mary never wrote in English at this time it must have been a translation, and in the absence of the original we have no means of knowing whether it is a correct one.

a step which he considered alike unwise and dangerous. He informed her that in his opinion the offence of Norfolk did not amount to treason; that if he was charged with that crime he would most probably be acquitted, and that his acquittal would only increase his power and popularity.[1] Elizabeth's fears finally prevailed over her love of vengeance, and the matter was allowed to drop. But the discovery of the Ridolphi plot renewed all her animosity against the duke, and all her jealousy of her rival; and we may probably conclude that it was she who insisted that the projected marriage should in itself be charged as treason. Although Lord Burghley deemed it insufficient, it might at least be the means of deterring other of her subjects from aspiring to so dangerous an alliance. If this object was attained, the Crown lawyers would not have exercised their ingenuity in vain.

The true offence of the duke in the eyes of the Council was his complicity in the Ridolphi plot. This part of the case was opened by the Attorney-General (Gerard), who had a much easier task to perform than the queen's sergeant. Upon this charge there was no necessity for putting any strained construction on the

[1] Cecil's letter to the queen is dated the 6th October 1569, and contains the following sensible advice: "If the duke shall be charged with the crime of treason, and shall not be thereof convicted, we shall not only save but increase his credit. And surely, without his facts may appear within the compass of treason (which I cannot see how they can), he shall be acquitted of that charge; and better it were in the beginning to foresee the matter than to attempt it with discredit, and not without suspicion of evil-will and malice. Wherefore I am bold to wish that your majesty would show your intention only to inquire of the fact and circumstances, and not by any speech to vote the same as treason. And if your majesty would yourself consider the words of the statute evidencing treason, I think you would so consider of it." He then cites the words of the Statute of Treasons, *ante*, 102.—Caligula, c. i. 331.

statute, for if Norfolk had invited a foreign Power to aid him in the overthrow of the queen's Government, he had certainly committed treason. But although we may entertain no moral doubt of his guilt, no proof that would be received at the present day was produced against him. The strongest piece of evidence as to this part of the charge was a letter of the Queen of Scots to the Bishop of Ross, which the latter had sent to the duke, and which had no doubt been found among those given up by Higford. After stating that she had determined to throw herself on the protection of Philip, she expressed herself as follows: "And therefore I would be of advice to send some faithful man towards the King of Spain, whom we might trust to make him understand the state of my realm; and also of the friends I have here, their deliberations, and the means they may have to set themselves to the fields, and *saist*[1] them of me, if the said King of Spain will sustain and embrace my cause and theirs. I think Rodolphi may best acquit himself of this charge securely of any that I know, under colour of his own traffic. And being known as he is, the King of Spain and the Pope will give him ear, and credit what shall be proposed by him to them. And also from his intelligence of the affairs of this country and of my realm, and by the instructions that he shall take from the Duke of Norfolk and of his friends, he may answer to the objections that shall be made to him. He sent me a memorandum by the which he describes several personages such as he thinketh are required, unnaming any man. As for my part, I

[1] The meaning seems to be to "possess themselves of," from the French "se saisir de."

know not of whom to make election of nor it be of him. The fear that they have on yonder side that the Duke of Norfolk will remain Protestant stays and holdeth all things in suspense. It shall be practised here to take away wholly the said suspicion, and to accommodate the whole to the satisfaction and contentment of the King of Spain and the Pope. I see no other means but to assure them of the duke, for that is the secret of the matter. My whole hope is in the Catholics of this realm. The negotiation must be holden very secret, and that Rodolphi keep himself well, that he makes no semblance thereof in France,[1] nor yet seem to meddle in any wise in my affairs. The season requires diligence and celerity; and therefore *if the Duke of Norfolk thinks the voyage of the said Rodolphi good*, I am of advice it be rather sooner than later, and well to tyne [2] no more time. I remit to the duke's wisdom to despatch and make him depart when he thinketh good."

When this letter was read, the duke made an implied admission that he had received it by asserting that he had sent word to the Scottish queen that "he misliked all such schemes," and recommended her instead to place her sole trust in the Queen of England. That he could in no way be held responsible for the contents of a letter addressed, not to him, but to a third person, is obvious. But taken in connection with subsequent events, this document materially affects the question of his innocence or guilt. It

[1] Ridolphi's mission was concealed from the French Government, obviously on account of the friendly footing at this time existing between Elizabeth and Catherine de Medici with reference to the Anjou marriage.

[2] Lose.

appears from it that Mary only accepted the proffered services of Ridolphi subject to the approval of the duke, by whose advice, we know, that she had acted implicitly for upwards of two years. To the duke she finally left the arrangement of all details; and that Ridolphi went abroad without his sanction we cannot believe. But Norfolk relied on the absence of positive proof. Of the instructions which Ridolphi carried with him to the Duke of Alva, the Crown lawyers had not recovered even a copy, and it was admitted that the original had not been signed by Norfolk. But there were read portions of the examinations of the Bishop of Ross and of Barker, professing to repeat conversations with Ridolphi, who had informed them of the result of his interview with Norfolk. If we believe this very doubtful kind of evidence, he had not only approved of the plot, but had informed Ridolphi of the precise number of auxiliaries that he required. They were to consist of at least ten thousand troops, including from three to four thousand horsemen, and they were to disembark at Harwich. At this point the duke made the following pertinent remarks: "It is said that there are two or three witnesses against me; but there is in fact but one witness, for Ridolphi said it to the Bishop of Ross, and the Bishop of Ross told it to Barker, and so from mouth to mouth; they are all but one witness. Mark, I pray you, the advices, and see how likely they are: ten thousand men must be landed, whereof three or four thousand must be horsemen; they must land at Harwich, a part of my county. But, in the first place, Harwich is not in my county, and Essex is the county in all England least proper to begin such an enterprise. There is no

county in England more replenished with Protestants than Essex and Suffolk, and none more likely to oppose Papists who came to destroy their religion. Besides, who would land horsemen in Essex, a county all full of lanes, woods, ditches, and marshes? I am not of such little skill in these things that I would not rather have chosen some other county if I had been so minded. Again, is it likely that I would have brought in a foreign Power, or joined with them to the overthrow of religion? These witnesses themselves admit that I could not be recovered from my religion. I would not be changed from my religion. I had rather be torn with wild horses."[1]

This professed attachment of the duke to his religion may have been sincere; but if so, the Catholic Powers were strangely misinformed, for we may conclude that they would never have listened to Ridolphi's scheme if they had not believed that Norfolk was ready to renounce his Protestantism. That he gave no pledge to any one upon the subject is probable; but that his whole conduct convinced the Bishop of Ross, the Spanish ambassador, and Ridolphi, that he was a Catholic at heart, we cannot doubt. Nor can his strict adherence to Protestantism during the remainder of his life remove the impression that in this as in other matters he acted a disingenuous part. The letter from the Queen of Scots found in his possession expressly referred to the doubts entertained abroad respecting his religion; and if he had been honest and sincere in his belief, he must have at once declared it. His silence may probably convince us that he was ready to be guided by circumstances,

[1] State Trials, vol. i.

and that however strong were his religious convictions, his ambition was stronger still.

The only witnesses examined throughout the trial were Richard Cavendish, a step-son of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who swore that he had heard Norfolk, speaking of the Queen of Scots, declare that "before he lost that marriag ehe would lose his life;" and various members of the Council, who swore that Barker, the duke's secretary, had made all his confessions "freely and without compulsion." Dr Wilson, the Master of the Court of Requests, was also called to speak to this point, and swore that "Barker was never offered torture, nor was once in the prison where the rack was."[1]

We have seen that the Crown lawyers had been instructed to inform the peers that none of the witnesses had been tortured, and we have no evidence that Barker was actually placed upon the rack. But

[1] "Of the credit due to Dr Wilson's testimony," says Mr Jardine, "the reader will be able to form a proper estimate by referring to Murdin's State Papers, p. 101, where will be found a joint letter from him and Sir Thomas Smith to Lord Burghley, dated 20th September 1571, in which they say, 'Of Bannister with the rack, of Barker *with the extreme fear of it*, we suppose we have gotten all.'" And that this mode of enforcing Barker's confession was adopted in consequence of the express command of the queen, appears from a letter from Burghley to Sir T. Smith, dated 9th September 1571, in which the former says, "Her majesty will have you use some extremity with Barker if he will not confess more truth," &c.—Cotton MSS., Caligula, c. iii. 254; Jardine's Criminal Trials, i. 194. It is this same Dr Wilson, the translator of Buchanan's 'Detection,' who asserts that Mary murdered her first husband in France, as well as her second husband in Scotland, and that she brought her third husband (Bothwell) to Carberry Hill with the intention of having him murdered also. And all these astounding facts, he says, he learned from no less a person than Mary's most zealous advocate, the Bishop of Ross. But as we know that Wilson was given to lying, it is much more probable that he invented these ridiculous tales than that the bishop should have proved himself to be both a liar and a fool. See Murdin, p. 57.

the statement made respecting him by the members of the Council could only have been made with the intention of misleading the peers as to the true state of the case. We know that both Bailly and Bannister were tortured, and that Barker and the Bishop of Ross were both threatened with torture in case they refused to speak. Burghley's colleagues spoke only as to Barker; but in no sense could it be said that he had "spoken freely and without compulsion" when, according to Wilson, he had been put in "extreme fear" before his testimony was taken down.

Before the conclusion of the case a statement of a most extraordinary kind was made by the Solicitor-General Bromley. He informed the peers that he had it in charge "from the queen's own mouth to state to them that a servant of a foreign ambassador in Flanders had made a full disclosure of the plot to the Council; but because it was improper, for reasons of State, to make the matter public, her Majesty desired that such of the lords as were members of the Council should impart it privately to their brother peers." The very name of the man who had supplied this mysterious piece of information was withheld from the accused; and, what is still more remarkable, he did not even venture to protest against so gross a violation of the first principles of justice. Under all the circumstances there could be little doubt as to the result of the trial, yet the peers remained in deliberation for upwards of an hour. When they had once more resumed their seats, they pronounced, but not in the hearing of the prisoner,[1] a unanimous

[1] This appears, from the report of the trial in the Lansdown MSS. No. 775, as follows: "After an hour and a quarter, which was immedi-

verdict of guilty. Sentence of death was then passed in due form by the Lord High Steward. The duke heard it with the same composure which he had displayed throughout the day. He solemnly declared that he had been condemned upon false testimony, and that he was, and ever had been, a true man to God and to the queen.

During the absence of the Earl of Shrewsbury in London, Sir Ralph Sadler had been sent to Sheffield to act in his place as keeper of the Scottish queen. On his return to Court, Elizabeth was curious to learn from Sadler all particulars respecting her prisoner; and the report of the veteran statesman was so favourable, that his mistress peevishly observed there seemed to be something incomprehensible about this Queen of Scots, who could thus compel her very enemies to speak well of her.[1] It was in consequence,

ately after eight of the clock at night, the lords came again upon the scaffold, and took their places as they were before. And then the Lord Steward, having ordered the duke to be taken further out of hearing, demanded of every one of them severally, sitting in their places, beginning with the youngest baron," &c. Speaking of the Duke of Norfolk's trial, Hume remarks: "The trial was quite regular, even according to the strict rules observed at present in these matters, except that the witnesses gave not their evidence in court, and were not confronted with the prisoner," &c.—Hist., c. xl. This is a singular mistake. Not only were the most material witnesses against him not produced, but he was denied the privilege of calling witnesses in his defence; he was denied all legal assistance, and every kind of hearsay evidence was admitted against him. In Hume's day, trials for high treason were conducted very differently, as may be seen from the proceedings against the Lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat, for their share in the rebellion of 1745. All these noblemen had ample notice of the charge that was to be made against them; they were allowed to select their own counsel, and to call any witnesses they chose in their defence.—See Howell, vol. xviii.

[1] "Que cella estoit de devin en la parolle et en la presence de la dicte royne d'Escosse, que l'ung et l'autre contraignaient ses propres ennemys de dire bien d'elle."—Fénelon, iv. 391.

apparently, of Sadler's report, that some relaxation was now made in the treatment of the unhappy captive. On his return to Sheffield, Shrewsbury allowed her to take exercise outside the walls of her prison, within which she had been constantly confined for upwards of five months. Even in the bleak month of February she hailed this privilege with delight; and we learn from Shrewsbury that, on the first occasion on which she walked abroad, she could not refrain, in the ecstasy of her newly-recovered liberty, from plunging up to the ankles in the snow.[1]

The conviction of the Duke of Norfolk by a unanimous verdict of his peers, was a signal triumph for Lord Burghley. But his work was only as yet half done. Elizabeth had been quite as eager as her minister to crush this great noble; but now that he was at her mercy, she refused, with characteristic inconstancy, to carry out the sentence of the law. Twice she signed the warrant for his execution, and twice, in spite of Burghley's utmost efforts, she cancelled it.[2] She had shown no such reluctance to shed the blood of the northern rebels in 1569. But Norfolk was her kinsman, as well as the first noble in the realm; her declared unwillingness to shed his blood was believed to be genuine, and the courtiers predicted that his life would be spared, in spite of all the efforts of his enemies.[3]

The pulpit in the sixteenth century was generally at

[1] Mr Froude regards this very natural incident as clearly indicative of the dangerous character of the Scottish queen: "Untamed and intractable as the eagle of her native mountains," &c.; vol. x. 337.

[2] See her letter to Burghley; Ellis, ii. 263.

[3] Digges, 203. Burghley was believed to be the chief of Norfolk's enemies. Sir W. Raleigh, writing to Sir Robert Cecil in 1601, says, "Your own father was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's ruin." —Murdin, 811.

the service of the ruling powers; and the sermons of the divines abounded, at this time, with denunciations of the Duke of Norfolk. The Bishop of Lincoln, while preaching before the queen, even took occasion to remind her that there was often mercy in punishing and cruelty in sparing.[1] But as Elizabeth still remained irresolute, her ministers induced her—under the pretext of public business, but in reality to furnish them with the means of overcoming her scruples—to summon a Parliament.

The two Houses met on the 8th of May, and in their addresses to the queen they earnestly entreated her to consent to the execution of Norfolk. By this means, as well as by the continuous efforts of her ministers, her repugnance, real or feigned, to send him to the scaffold, was eventually overcome. She signed his death-warrant for the third time, and on the 2d of June the sentence of the law was at length carried into effect. He exhibited, during his last moments, the same calm and dignified demeanour which had been conspicuous on his trial. He declared that he was innocent of treason, and that he had ever been a true member of the Reformed religion. Norfolk was

[1] "I fear that the Bishop of Lincoln's words in his sermon before her majesty will prove true, alleged out of Augustine, that there was *misericordia puniens, crudelitas parcens*," &c.—Randolph to the Bishop of Durham; Wright, i. 416. That Burghley was in the habit of giving directions to the clergy regarding their treatment of political topics, appears from a letter addressed to him, in the course of this year, by the Bishop of London. He says: "The citizens of London, in these dangerous days, had need prudently to be dealt withal; the preachers appointed for the Cross (Saint Paul's) in this vacation are but young men, unskilful in matters political. . . . If I may receive from your lordship some direction or advice herein, I will not fail to direct them so well as I can."—The Bishop of London to Lord Burghley, 5th Sept. 1572; Wright, i. 438.

only thirty-six years old; and his fate excited the deepest commiseration among the people, by whom he was universally beloved,[1] and who well remembered that his father, the gallant and accomplished Surrey, had, twenty-five years before, perished on the same spot by the hands of the common executioner.

The sacrifice of Norfolk was only intended as a prelude to that of a more illustrious victim. The puritanical element was strongly represented at this time in the House of Commons, and the Scottish queen furnished the chief topic of discussion during the remainder of the session. Due care had been taken to inflame the minds of members by circulating Buchanan's libel, and other writings of a similar character, composed apparently by divines, and intended to prove that Mary might be lawfully put to death either as a public enemy or as an idolatress. No precedent could be found in law, or even in profane history, for such an act; but the enemies of Mary triumphantly referred to the Old Testament for abundant authorities to justify her execution. In an elaborate address to the queen the Commons reminded her that, "when God by His just providence doth commit any grievous offender into the hands of a prince or magistrate as to his minister to be punished, he ought to fear the heavy displeasure of God if by any colour he do omit the same."[2] They reminded her that, be-

[1] He made a long speech when on the scaffold, in the course of which he was frequently interrupted by the sheriff, apparently on account of the sympathy manifested by the spectators. When he knelt down at the block he would not allow the executioner to bandage his eyes, but "bid him not to fear, as he would lie quietly and handsomely." — Record Office, Domestic.

[2] D'Ewes, Journal, 208.

cause Saul spared Agag, God transferred the kingdom of Israel from Saul and his heirs for ever. They reminded her how different had been the conduct of Joshua, "a worthy prince and governor, who put to death at one time *five kings*, and that as might appear rudely, causing his soldiers to set their feet on their necks and slay them." They further referred to the fate of two wicked queens, Jezabel and Athaliah, both inferior in wickedness to the Queen of Scots, who were "by God's magistrates executed, and the same execution commended in Scripture."[1]

But the great and unpardonable crime of the Scottish queen was her religion. "Shall we think," they asked, "that the gathering of a few sticks on the Sabbath-day is to be punished by death in a poor, simple person, and the seeking to subvert the Gospel of Christ, and to draw the people of God to that idolatrous doctrine that teacheth to impute the merit of Christ's blood and passion to wicked men's devices, yea, to stocks, to stones, to sticks, to water, to bells, shall not be worthy the punishment of death in a noble person? God direct our judgment otherways."[2]

These arguments satisfied both Lords and Commons; but they did not satisfy Elizabeth, who peremptorily rejected a bill of attainder against the Queen of Scots, which had passed both Houses apparently without a dissenting voice.

Baffled in their attempts against her life, Burghley and his friends changed their tactics. They introduced a bill which, by setting aside her claim to the succession, was intended to secure them from her resentment in case she should survive her rival. But

[1] D'Ewes, 212. [2] Ibid., 212.

Elizabeth, acting, it was suspected, under the influence of Leicester, refused her assent even to this comparatively moderate measure.[1] The determination displayed by Elizabeth in thus frustrating the various schemes of vengeance proposed by her ministers was, under all the circumstances, very remarkable; nor can we account for her conduct, unless she was profoundly conscious that her treatment of the Scottish queen was wholly indefensible, and that any additional measures of severity might justly provoke the active intervention of the Catholic Powers.

Why Leicester should have interfered at this time in Mary's behalf is not so easy to explain; and we may observe generally that there is no politician of the age whose real designs it is so difficult to fathom as those of Elizabeth's chief favourite. Nothing can be more intelligible and consistent than the policy of Burghley; and the same may be said of that of his principal adherents. Although we are frequently disposed to condemn the means by which they sought to accomplish their purposes, it cannot be denied that, in the main, they were true to Elizabeth and to the cause of the Reformation. But the conduct of Leicester to the Queen of Scots, from first to last, can only be explained by the utter insincerity and faithlessness of the man. He had been a suitor for her hand, when he was in reality aspiring to that of Elizabeth. He

[1] Writing to Walsingham in July, Burghley says: "Now for our Parliament I cannot write patiently; all that we laboured for and had with full consent brought to fashion—I mean a law to make the Scottish queen unable and unworthy of succession of the crown—was by her Majesty neither assented to nor rejected, but deferred until the feast of All Saints. Some here have, as it seemeth, abused their favour about her Majesty to make herself her worst enemy. God amend them," &c.—Digges, 219.

had been apprised of the plan for the murder of Riccio,[1] as well as of the ulterior designs of the assassins against the liberty, if not the life, of the woman for whom he had so shortly before professed unbounded affection, and he had signified his approval of the plot by his silence. He had subsequently taken the most active part among the English nobility in promoting her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk; but finding that Elizabeth was resolutely opposed to the match, he had taken an equally active part in bringing that unfortunate nobleman to the block. Why he should now alone among the Protestant leaders have desired to spare the Queen of Scots, seems to admit of only one explanation. He had probably by this time given up all hopes of Elizabeth; but now that Norfolk was gone, he might still obtain her consent to a marriage with the Scottish queen. Although he could no longer hope to be the consort of his sovereign, he might yet be the consort of her successor. The match had originally been proposed by his mistress; and she might, in process of time, become reconciled to it as the best means of settling the succession, as well as of preventing her rival, or her son, forming an alliance with one or other of the Catholic Powers. That Mary suspected Leicester of these designs is certain; but it is no less certain that she regarded with unmixed abhorrence the prospect of a marriage with the grandson of a usurer and the reputed murderer of his wife.[2]

Although Elizabeth was not yet prepared to take the life of her guest, or even to exclude her from the succession, she was perfectly willing to adopt any

[1] See the letter of Randolph; *ante*, vol. i. 133.

[2] See her letter to her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine; Labanoff, iv. 206.

step that was calculated to humiliate and annoy her. With this sole object, for she clearly had no other, commissioners were appointed to proceed to Sheffield with a catalogue of grievances, both old and new, against the captive queen. Lord de la Warr, Sir Ralph Sadler, the Solicitor-General Bromley, and Dr Wilson, the translator of Buchanan, were the persons chosen for the mission, and they arrived at Sheffield on the 16th of June. They found Mary in deep distress,[1] on account of the death of Norfolk, respecting whose fate she had been kept in painful suspense ever since his trial. But although suffering both in mind and body, she received Elizabeth's commissioners with her accustomed self-possession, and listened patiently to the complaints — thirteen in number — which they had been instructed to make against her. The first was the charge, repeated for the twentieth time, that she had worn the arms of England. The commissioners further complained that she had sought to marry the Duke of Norfolk without the consent of the queen, and even, in defiance of her prohibition, to bring about the marriage by force; that she had stirred up a rebellion in the northern counties, and caused aid to be given to the rebel subjects of the Queen of England both in Scotland and in Flanders; that she had commissioned Ridolphi to invite the King of Spain to invade the realm; that she had conspired with various of her Majesty's subjects to obtain her liberty, with the purpose of laying claim to the crown; that she was in constant correspondence with the Pope, and had induced him to publish a bull against her Majesty; and

[1] See Sadler's letter in Ellis, second series.

that many of her friends abroad had asserted openly that she was the rightful Queen of England.[1]

To these charges Mary, on the following day, returned a written reply—protesting, at the same time, that, being an independent sovereign, she was induced to answer only in respect of the near relationship between her and the Queen of England, whose friendship she had ever sincerely desired. With respect to the first complaint of the commissioners—the wearing of the arms of England—she said that she could not in reason be held accountable, as she was at the time not only in her minority, but married to a foreign prince, and that subsequent to his death it was well known she had never worn them; that it was true she had consented to a marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, believing it to be for the advantage of both realms, but that she had never at any time intended or desired to bring it about by force; that she had neither instigated nor approved of the northern rebellion, nor had she in any way assisted the English rebels, except by recommending the Countess of Northumberland to the Duke of Alva; that it was true she had applied to the Kings of France and Spain, to the Pope, and to other princes, to aid her in recovering her liberty, and she was quite prepared, whenever an opportunity were afforded her, to justify her conduct in this respect before the Parliament of England; that she well knew Ridolphi was an agent of the Papal Court, and that she had employed him to raise money on her account, but that she had received no letter from him since he quitted England; that, being unjustly detained a prisoner, she had always readily listened to any one

[1] Murdin, 218.

who undertook to restore her to liberty, and she had supplied Rolleston[1] and Hall, at their request, with an alphabet in cipher, but she had never of herself devised any method of escape; that she utterly denied having procured or approved of the Papal bull issued against Queen Elizabeth, a copy of which she had read and immediately thereafter committed to the flames; finally, she declared that if her friends and adherents beyond the seas had ever asserted that she was the rightful Queen of England, they had done so entirely without her knowledge or approval.

Considering that she was acting at this time entirely without advice, no one will deny the ability, and even the forensic skill, with which Mary defended herself against the charges of Elizabeth's commissioners. It is to be observed that she evaded the most serious point urged against her—namely, that she had invited the King of Spain to invade the realm. But the broad question for the decision of posterity is not whether she was justified in returning an evasive answer to Elizabeth's commissioners, but whether she was justified in authorising Ridolphi, which she unquestionably did, to seek at this time the active assistance of the Spanish king to relieve her from captivity. Upon this point there can be but one impartial opinion. When Richard I. was detained a prisoner in Germany, it is well known that he appealed for aid to the Pope as well as to other princes; and who has ever questioned his right to seek his deliverance by means of foreign aid? Yet the

[1] Labanoff, iv. 48; and Camden. Rolleston and Hall had both been engaged in the scheme to carry her off from Wingfield in the autumn of 1569; *ante*, p. 2, note.

detention of Richard was a much more justifiable act than the imprisonment of the Scottish queen. He was made a prisoner while travelling in disguise, and without a safe-conduct, through the dominions of a prince with whom he was on most unfriendly terms.[1] Mary was induced to come to England in consequence of the warm and repeated invitations of her sister queen; and her detention as a prisoner was a breach, not only of the law of nations, but of the still more sacred laws of hospitality.

Within three months of the execution of Norfolk, another distinguished partisan of the Queen of Scots perished on the scaffold. The Earl of Northumberland, from the time of Mary's arrival in England, had evinced an interest in her fortunes which caused him to be closely watched. He had sought and obtained an interview with her at Carlisle, and he was highly indignant with the Warden of the Western Marches[2] and his deputy because they refused to allow her to accompany him to Alnwick Castle. Northumberland was no politician. Like other of the great nobles in this reign, he lived much in the old feudal fashion among his vassals and retainers, and preferred the bracing air of his native wolds to the turmoil of courts

[1] The Duke of Austria.

[2] "Yesternight arrived the said earl (Northumberland); and I attending on him by the way, he declared that his repair (to Carlisle) was for the conducting of the same queen, which I said I might not depart from without very good authority; whereupon after he had used some rough words towards me, adding too that I was too mean a man to have such a charge, and that he marvelled how I durst take it in hand." Lowther added that after his interview with the Queen of Scots, the earl, "growing into some heat and anger, gave me great threatenings, with many evil words, calling me 'varlett,' and such others as I neither deserved at his hands, neither looked for at any man's."—Letter of Lowther to Lord Scrope, 22, 1568. See Sharpe, Memorials of the Rebellion; Appendix, 340.

and cities. Simple in his tastes, and a stranger to the arts of political intrigues, no man seemed less fitted by nature and habit to become the leader of a rebellion. But imbued with all the prejudices of his order, he regarded with dislike and jealousy the men who ruled the State; and these sentiments were deepened by the strength of his religious convictions. When, therefore, after the farce of the Westminster conference had been played out, the northern gentry resolved to strike a blow for the freedom of the Scottish queen and the restoration of the ancient faith, they naturally looked to the representative of the Percys, and his friend and neighbour Westmoreland, to be their leaders. Both noblemen, it appears, were at the first opposed to the scheme; but, as frequently happens on such occasions, their scruples were finally overcome by the zeal and daring of their more sanguine followers.[1]

Northumberland had now been upwards of two years a prisoner in Lochleven Castle. After his base betrayal to his enemies, his countess had fled to the Low Countries, where, with laudable devotion, she contrived to amass a sum of not less than two thousand pounds for the ransom of her husband. This amount she offered as the price of the earl's liberty. But the Regent Mar—or, to speak more accurately, his chief adviser Morton—deemed it more prudent to sell their prisoner to Elizabeth, provided she would pay a sum equal to that tendered by his wife. The business required secrecy, for we have seen that even in this ruthless age the giving up of a fugitive to certain death was regarded as a

[1] Sharpe's Memorials, Appendix, 207.

heinous crime. Of all the actors in this scene of infamy, Morton, in the opinion of his contemporaries, incurred the largest share of guilt; for when he fled to England a proscribed outlaw, he had been much indebted to the generosity of Northumberland, who doubtless remembered that in times past Douglas and Percy had been occasionally fast friends as well as mortal enemies. When apprised of the terms upon which alone the surrender of the great northern earl was to be obtained, Elizabeth chafed and stormed, as she ever did when demands were made upon her purse. The price demanded by these shameless Scots seemed unreasonably high; but she knew that they could obtain it from another purchaser if she declined the terms: and, weighed in the balance with her avarice, her love of vengeance finally prevailed. She agreed to pay the stipulated sum, no one being intrusted with the secret except her ministers and those who were to share the plunder. It was given out that Northumberland was to be conveyed in a Scotch ship to Antwerp; and the earl joyfully left his dreary prison and embarked on the Firth of Forth—as he believed, for the port where his wife and many of his friends were awaiting his arrival. But, to his disappointment and dismay, the vessel, instead of putting out to sea, ran down the coast of Berwickshire, and anchored off Coldingham. The earl had been committed to the care of John Colville,[1] a brother of the

[1] See Melville's Memoirs. John Colville had originally been a Presbyterian minister, but had been deposed for neglect of his duties. He then became a political adventurer; and we find that he was employed on various occasions both by the Government of Scotland and the English ministers. He finally renounced Protestantism, and died in great poverty in Paris. Mr David Laing is of opinion that the 'Historie

Laird of Cleish, who here exchanged him for the stipulated price. The money was paid in gold by Lord Hunsdon, who had been specially commissioned to complete the bargain, and who forthwith conveyed his prisoner to Berwick.

The demeanour of Northumberland, thus a victim for the second time of the vilest treachery, was very different from that of Norfolk in the presence of the Council. The earl desired to live, but he disdained to make any abject admissions or confessions to save his life. Hunsdon complains that he found him more ready to talk of "his hounds and his hawks, and such vain matters," than of aught else.[1] This was a serious disappointment to Burghley and his mistress, who seem to have concluded that, once in their power, the earl would disclose all he knew respecting the rebellion. Hunsdon was meanwhile desired to extract from his prisoner all the information he could; and the method he was to employ was very clearly pointed out in a letter addressed to him by Elizabeth herself: "In the dealing therein," she said, "you may use such speeches as may justly terrify him with all extremity of punishment if he shall conceal anything; and sometimes, as you see cause, you may also comfort him with some hope, *so as it be not in our name*, nor by us warranted, if he will utter the truth of every person, without regard to any, whatsoever they be, though he may think they be in place of credit."[2]

Hunsdon was thus to comfort the earl "with some hope;" or, in other words, to induce him to believe

of King James the Sext' was the work of John Colville. See Preface to letters of John Colville published by the Bannatyne Club, 1858.

[1] Sharpe, 330. [2] Sharpe, Memorials, 331.

that his life would be spared if he made a clean breast, and disclosed all he knew. These were the same kind of tactics which had been prescribed to Shrewsbury, only he was "to tempt the patience"[1] of the Scottish queen, and thus provoke her to criminate herself. Hunsdon, on the other hand, was desired to hold out to his prisoner false and utterly delusive hopes, with exactly the same object. It is satisfactory to know that in both instances these paltry devices failed to produce the effect desired.

Another portion of Elizabeth's instructions to her cousin was highly characteristic: "As for any chargeable entertainment of him in his diet, we like not, considering he is a person attainted; and by over-tender usage he may gather comfort to persist in denial of the truth of things to his knowledge."[2] Having paid what she no doubt considered an exorbitant sum for her prisoner, she would economise by putting him on short allowance; but it is probable that Hunsdon took upon himself to disregard the stingy orders of his cousin, for it is nowhere stated that the earl was starved.

In addition to the instructions thus privately sent to Hunsdon, a long series of questions was framed by Burghley, to each of which Northumberland was required to give a written answer. The object of these interrogatories was to ascertain who were the parties mainly responsible for the northern rebellion, and especially to prove the complicity of the Scottish queen. But upon this latter point Burghley was

[1] *Ante*, p. 68.

[2] Sharpe, ibid. If we might hazard a conjecture, we should say the first portion of the letter to Hunsdon was devised by Burghley, and the restrictions as to diet by the queen herself.

wholly disappointed; for Northumberland distinctly stated that, so far from approving of the insurrection, she had earnestly dissuaded them from embarking in that rash enterprise. As this answer was the reverse of that which Burghley had desired, he sent down to Berwick a fresh series of interrogatories, in the course of which he artfully suggested that she had advised them to postpone the rising only until she could obtain for them a sufficient sum of money. To this second query Northumberland replied no less distinctly: "She never required us to stay until she might obtain any aid of money, but required us generally not to rise."[1] To a similar question in the first series of interrogatories he had answered, "No aid was promised; nor I know not what moved her to advise us to stay than that which might move all wise men to see unto, as the sequel appeared."[2]

With regard to his own share in the rebellion, Northumberland made no attempt at concealment; but he generously sought to extenuate the guilt of his exiled friend and confederate Westmoreland, who, he alleged, had been most reluctant to join the insurgents, and had only been at last induced to take up arms by the tears and entreaties of his wife.[3] Nor-

[1] Sharpe, Memorials, 219.

[2] Ibid., 206. Irrespective of the reasons for Mary's disapproval thus stated by Northumberland, we know that at the time she was acting entirely by the advice of Norfolk, and we know that he was decidedly opposed to the rising of the northern lords.—See the evidences of Richard Cavendish on his trial; Howell, vol. i.

[3] She was a sister of the Duke of Norfolk, and a person of great spirit and accomplishments. She was also, like her brother, a Protestant—having been, like him, the pupil of Foxe the martyrologist. It is but just to add that she denied having instigated her husband to join the rebellion; and her statement was probably believed, as Elizabeth allowed her an annuity of £300 out of the confiscated estates of the

folk had been ready to cast blame upon any one to shield himself. The Regent Murray, the Bishop of Ross, his own secretaries and servants, were all, he asserted, plotting against his life. In his efforts to escape the punishment which was his due, he hardly spared the unhappy princess who had the misfortune to be his affianced wife. Northumberland accused no man of treachery or falsehood, nor did he blame any one except himself for the peril in which he stood.

The process of examination to which he was subjected lasted five or six weeks; and at its termination Lord Hunsdon received orders to convey his prisoner to York, where the queen had commanded that he should be executed as a traitor. As an act of attainder had been passed against him,[1] he could no longer claim the privilege of a trial by his peers.

What effect this intelligence had upon the unfortunate earl we are not informed, but upon Hunsdon it came like a thunderbolt. Although a rough soldier, he was by no means destitute of humanity; and he seems to have concluded from the delay that had elapsed, and the readiness with which his prisoner had answered all the questions put to him by the Council, that his life should be spared. Resolved, at all events, that he should not lead the earl to the shambles, he on the instant wrote a highly indignant letter to Lord Burghley, declaring that some one else must be found to perform that degrading duty, and that rather than

earl. On the 13th of June, Lord Hunsdon writes to Burghley that "the earl doth greatly excuse my Lord of Westmoreland, and saith plainly that he could never get any hold of him till the last hour, and that by procurement of his wife."—Sharpe, 330.

[1] In the Parliament of this year.

obey the order he was prepared to go to prison.[1] Three days later he wrote in a calmer strain, respectfully but strongly recommending the queen to spare the earl's life, "although by law he deserved to die."[2] But Elizabeth turned a deaf ear to her gallant cousin, and Burghley required another victim among the great nobility. As Hunsdon, however, at no inconsiderable risk to himself, positively refused to obey their orders, Sir John Foster, upon whom the queen had bestowed a large portion of the earl's estates, was appointed to convey him to York, where, on the 22d of August, without further process of any kind, he was led to the scaffold. To the last he declared himself to be a true member of the ancient faith; and as such he refused to pray for Elizabeth, whom he no doubt regarded as a heretic and a usurper.[3] Whether by accident or design, a common carpenter's axe was the weapon employed to sever his head from his body; and his high rank, the disgraceful circumstances attending his betrayal by the Scots, and his steadfast adherence to his religion, created a profound sensation throughout the north of England, and even in foreign countries.[4]

His confederate, the Earl of Westmoreland, was

[1] The letter of Hunsdon is printed in Sharpe, 331. He says that, when about to sit down to dinner, he received Burghley's letter, "whyche gave me my dyner," &c.

[2] Sharpe, 332.

[3] Ibid., 335.

[4] See Apuntamientos, 128. There is in the Cotton Library a contemporary English ballad on the fate of Northumberland, of which the following lines form a part:—

"I lothe to tell how now of lat
That cruel Scotland hath procurde
The slander of their realm and state
By promise broken most assurde
Which shamefull act from mynde of man
Shall not departe, do what they can.

hardly more fortunate. He survived the rebellion upwards of thirty years, a dependant on the bounty of strangers for his daily bread. A small pension was allowed him by the King of Spain, but it was irregularly paid; and he received occasional assistance, when it was in her power to give it, from the Queen of Scots.[1] The continued efforts of his wife to obtain a remission of his sentence of forfeiture proved unavailing, and the last male descendant of the great Earl of Warwick died at Brussels in poverty and debt in 1601.[2]

The noblest lord of Percie, kinde,
Of honour and possessions faire,
As God to him the place assigned,
To Scottishe grounde made his repaire;
Who, after promise manifolde,
Was last betrayed for English golde.

Who shall hereafter trust a Scott?
Or who will do that nation good
That so themselves do stayne and blott
In selling of such noble blood?
Let lordes of this a mirror make,
And in distresse that land forsake," &c.
—Printed in Wright, i. 432.

[1] In February 1576, she writes to her ambassador in Paris to pay to Westmoreland and two others four thousand francs, but to keep the matter secret, lest the Scots should be jealous.—See Sharpe, 302. In the following year, having heard that the earl complained of her neglect, she again writes to her ambassador on the 25th of March: "I esteem and honour his goodwill, and will not neglect whatever may be in my power; which let him understand from me, assisting him, if necessary, with two or three hundred crowns."—Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 304.

CHAPTER XIX.

EVENTS IN FRANCE AND IN SCOTLAND.

NOTWITHSTANDING the close captivity of Mary, and the death or dispersion of her principal adherents in England, her partisans in Scotland not only continued to hold their ground, but to acquire fresh confidence and strength. The loss of Dumbarton Castle in the spring of the previous year was more than balanced, in the estimation of the queen's friends, by the surprise of Stirling, which they universally regarded as a military success. Adam Gordon was still master of the country beyond the Tay; Lord Sempill had been defeated by Lord Claud Hamilton in the West;[1] Fernihirst had once more rallied his followers on the Border, where no one ventured to attack him;[2] and his father-in-law, Kirkaldy, still held the principal fortress in the kingdom, where he had received supplies of money and ammunition both from France and Spain. There seemed to be an inextinguishable vitality among the queen's adherents; for no sooner were they suppressed in one quarter than they sprang up in another, more numerous and formidable than ever. Elizabeth and her ministers had hoped that the destructive expeditions of Sussex,

[1] Historie of King James the Sext, 176. [2] Ibid., 177.

Scrope, and Drury would firmly establish the regent's authority; but they only inflicted a vast amount of individual misery without permanently affecting the resources of the rival factions. To send a fresh expedition into Scotland, when the queen's friends were everywhere so confident, was an experiment too hazardous to be attempted; but another expedient might be tried, which, on a former occasion, had proved eminently successful. After the termination of the Westminster conference, Mary's adherents, though far more numerous and powerful than their opponents, had been induced to suspend hostilities by the artifices of the Regent Murray.[1] The same device might be tried again, and with the like results. Terms of pacification might be proposed to the contending parties; and as the country had suffered frightfully from the effects of the civil war, Elizabeth had a plausible pretext for offering to mediate between them. A correspondence was accordingly commenced between Lord Burghley and Maitland;[2] and it is surprising that the latter, who knew so well the parties with whom he had to deal, should have failed to perceive their true object in seeking to bring about an armistice. Ostensibly it was the unprecedented misery of the country which prompted them to interfere; in reality they sought to save the regent's faction, which at this time stood in imminent danger of irretrievable defeat.

But Maitland and Kirkaldy had been long denounced by the regent's supporters, and more especially by the clergy, as the wicked authors and promoters of the war. Anxious to relieve themselves from reproaches which

[1] See vol. i. 483.

[2] Maitland to Burghley, 26th Oct. 1571; Record Office.

they could certainly apply with equal justice to their opponents, they listened to the terms proposed, and, in an evil hour for their mistress and themselves, consented to a suspension of hostilities. An agreement to that effect was signed on the 30th of July;[1] and it was stipulated that, as soon as practicable, the Estates of the kingdom should be convened, to discuss and determine the conditions of a general peace.[2]

But before the Parliament could be assembled, events had taken place in France which materially affected the course of British politics, and more especially the prospects of the Scottish queen.

From the date of the treaty of St Germains, the influence of the Huguenots had been steadily increasing; and in the summer of 1572, the queen-mother was projecting for her family no less than two Protestant alliances. She had not yet given up hopes of marrying one of her sons to the Queen of England; and she had promised her daughter Margaret to young Henry of Navarre. Another circumstance, which was considered of immense importance by the Protestants throughout Europe, was the conclusion of a treaty, offensive and defensive, between Charles IX. and Elizabeth, which was signed at Blois on the 11th of April of this year.[3] Jealousy of Spain[4] was undoubtedly the motive for this decided change of policy on the part of France; and this sentiment was

[1] July 30, 1572. See the terms; History of King James the Sext, 179.
[2] Tytler, vii. 307. [3] Camden; Dumont, corps diplomatique.
[4] Writing to Leicester from Paris, shortly after the battle of Lepanto, Walsingham says: "Whatsoever show the king here giveth of joy outwardly, he doth not best like of the victory, as that thing which addeth too great an increase of reputation to the King of Spain."—Walsingham to Leicester, 7th Nov. 1571; Digges, 150.

in no degree diminished by the brilliant exploits of Don John of Austria in the Levant. Under circumstances thus promising for the cause he had embraced, Count Louis of Nassau, the gallant brother of the Prince of Orange, repaired to Paris. He was received with much cordiality by Coligni, and even by the young king, to whom he pointed out the obvious danger of allowing Spain to establish a permanent military despotism in the Netherlands. His arguments proved so successful, that he obtained for his struggling countrymen a considerable body of troops, with which he advanced rapidly upon Mons, and captured that important city.[1] Before he quitted Paris it had been secretly stipulated, with the concurrence of the king, that Coligni should follow Count Louis as speedily as possible with an army of 15,000 men, and that together they should form a junction with the Prince of Orange, who was at this time at the head of a still larger force.[2] By one combined and decisive effort the Duke of Alva might then be crushed, and the independence of the Netherlands secured.

To all appearance Protestantism had at length gained the ascendancy in France. Charles had certainly sanctioned the expedition which resulted in the capture of Mons,[3] and the chief of the Huguenots was about to lead a French army against the Spanish forces in the Netherlands. The Calvinist Queen of Navarre, Jean d'Albret, was a guest at the Louvre; nor did her death, which occurred unexpectedly[4] in the month

[1] Bentivoglio, lib. vi. 100. Mons was taken on 25th May.

[2] Correspondence de Philippe, ii. 1146.

[3] Massacre of St Bartholomew, by Henry White; edit. 1868.

[4] Davila, like Dante, fond of exaggerating the crimes of his countrymen, says that her death was caused by a pair of poisoned gloves which

of June, prevent the marriage of her son with Margaret of Valois, which was celebrated on the 18th of August with extraordinary splendour. The match, it was true, was a purely political one; for Margaret, whose beauty is said to have rivalled, and in the eyes of her admirers eclipsed, that of her Scottish sister-in-law, had fixed her affections on the young Duke of Guise,[1] at that time accounted the most accomplished cavalier in France. But on the surface all was smooth and brilliant; and the union of a daughter of the Medici with the son of a Protestant queen gave promise, after twelve years of mortal strife, of a happy and final concord between the rival faiths. Yet within a week the calculations of the most astute politicians in Europe were scattered to the winds by one of those unlooked-for incidents which have so often in the world's history entirely changed the current of events.

The tragedy of Bartholomew, like many of the worst of national crimes, was the result, not of premeditation, but of panic.[2] To the guilty terrors of Catherine, and not to the perfidy of her unhappy son, we must look for the true cause of the catastrophe. It is incredible that Charles should have mortally offended the Pope and

she was induced to wear.—Lib. v. But it appears that she died of a disease of the lungs of long standing.—See Soldan Protestantismus in Frankreich, b. ii. 428, and the authorities there cited.

[1] Davila, lib. v.

[2] Various Italian writers, imbued with the Machiavellian notions of the age, take credit to Catherine and her son for the refinement of perfidy with which they planned and executed the massacre.—See Capilupi, lo Stratagemma di Carlo IX., contra gli Ugonotti: Adriani, lib. xxii. 49; and Davila, lib. v. By these writers the historians of the last century, Hume, Robertson, and others, appear to have been misled. But there is an overwhelming preponderance of modern authorities on the other side.

the Catholic Powers by sending an army to assist the Protestant insurgents in the Netherlands for the mere purpose of deceiving Coligni. It is certain, moreover, that he took this hazardous step without the concurrence, and probably without the knowledge, of his mother. There is abundant evidence to show that he entertained at this time an anxious desire to conciliate the Huguenots, and bring about a lasting peace. Although his education had been shamefully neglected by the worst of mothers, Charles was by no means destitute of generous feelings; and we have every reason to believe not only that the affectionate deference which he paid to Coligni was sincere, but that the influence which the Protestant chief had imperceptibly acquired over the mind of the young king at this time was the true cause of the massacre. A bigot though he was in his religion, there was about Coligni a certain noble simplicity and singleness of purpose, which from the first seems to have captivated the impressionable Charles. He could not fail to contrast his new favourite with the swarm of parasites and panders by whom he had been surrounded from his childhood. But this intimacy, so auspiciously begun, and so creditable both to Coligni and the king, was regarded with intense dislike and jealousy by the queen-mother. Until the Protestant chief appeared at Court she had exercised unbounded sway over her wayward son; but she was now confronted by a rival who grew more and more formidable every day. By his persuasion Charles, unknown to her, had consented to a war with Spain. It was agreed that the secret should be kept from Catherine; but she was not easily deceived. Although she failed, even with the aid of her female spies, to discover

the subject of the frequent consultations between her son and the admiral, she saw very clearly that she was no longer mistress of France. She had held the reins ever since the murder of the Duke of Guise; it must have now occurred to her that another murder was necessary to restore her lost authority. The admiral had gained an ascendancy at Court hardly inferior to that once exercised by the great Catholic duke. That nice balance of the rival factions which Catherine had laboured so incessantly to maintain was now lost, and until it was restored, she must remain as powerless and dependent as in the days when Mary Stewart was queen. Rather than bear this fresh humiliation, Catherine resolved that the admiral should die. Her purpose, she vainly imagined, would be accomplished by the sacrifice of the Protestant leader; and in the first instance, at least, she aimed at that alone. But the assassin who had been hired for the occasion failed to execute his purpose. On Friday the 22d of August, only four days after the royal wedding, the admiral was wounded severely in the arm by a shot from an arquebuse. The news spread rapidly through Paris, and the young king was furious at the outrage, which was committed in open day, and when Coligni was only a few paces distant from the door of his hotel. Charles lost no time in visiting the admiral. He expressed the warmest sympathy for his sufferings, and assured him that effectual means should be taken for the discovery and the punishment of the assassin; nor is there any reason to suppose that the emotion exhibited by the king was feigned. Charles was accompanied by his mother and her favourite son the Duke of Anjou. It was they who had employed the bungling assassin,

whom they cursed in secret, while they lamented even more loudly than the king the sufferings of their victim. Charles, at the admiral's request, remained with him some time alone; and when Catherine and the Duke of Anjou took their leave, they were justly alarmed at the fierce and threatening looks and gestures of the Huguenot cavaliers, who by this time were flocking round the admiral's hotel, inquiring eagerly after the condition of their chief, and vowing vengeance against his enemies. Catherine and her accomplice hurried to the Louvre. They dared not avow to the king, in his present humour, that they had planned the murder; yet without the consent of Charles nothing could be done. It had by this time been ascertained that the assassin had fled from Paris on a horse belonging to the Duke of Guise, and a conflict was every moment expected to break out between his followers and those of Coligni. But the day passed without further bloodshed, and in the morning Catherine hoped to find the king more amenable to reason.

Next day, accordingly, Catherine and her accomplices met in secret conclave. In addition to the Duke of Anjou there were present Gondi the Count de Retz, the Chancellor Birago, Gonzaga the Duke de Nevers, and the Marshal Tavannes.[1] What passed at this memorable meeting is unknown; but we may assume from what followed that Catherine found little difficulty in persuading such counsellors that the murder of Coligni and his friends was now a matter

[1] It has often been remarked that the massacre was planned by foreigners. The Duke of Anjou was the only Frenchman present, and he was the son of Catherine de Medici. Tavannes was a Spaniard.

of necessity. After a brief consultation they proceeded in a body to the cabinet of the king, and explained the purport of their visit.[1] But from the project of the massacre Charles recoiled with horror. For this Catherine was fully prepared, and with the subtlety of Satan she answered one by one his objections to the scheme. History contains few darker pictures than that of a mother working on the evil passions of her son to tempt him to commit an act which was to render him an object of execration through all time. Charles, to his credit, remained deaf to all her arguments. But the wily Florentine had one still in reserve of which her son had never dreamed; and finding all persuasion vain, she at length informed him, with startling candour, that it was not the Duke of Guise, as he supposed, but she herself and her son Henry, who had planned the murder of Coligni. "It is true," she dexterously added, "that we sought the admiral's life, but we did it to save yours. You have now no choice but to finish the work we have begun, or to perish with your brother and your mother."

This astounding announcement threw Charles into one of those paroxysms of fury to which, when under strong excitement, he was ever subject. He fiercely denounced his mother's treachery, and threatened his brother and the rest of the conspirators, until, exhausted with the violence of his emotions, he sank into a kind of silent stupor. He then declared that the admiral was his guest, that he could not allow

[1] This visit to the king bears a curious resemblance to the visit paid by Murray, Bothwell, and their accomplices, to Mary at Craigmillar, when they proposed to get rid of Darnley—vol. i. 163.

him to be injured, and implored his mother, whose influence over him, notwithstanding this outburst of passion, was still supreme, to devise some other plan, by which the life of Coligni might be spared. At this point Charles found an unexpected ally in one of the conspirators. Whether moved by remorse, or by compassion for the unhappy monarch, Gondi, to the surprise of his accomplices, now besought the king to refuse his assent to a crime which would bring eternal infamy on France. If the advice of Gondi was honestly given, which may well be doubted, we can easily imagine the feelings with which Catherine listened to her countryman, who thus threatened to defeat the plans of the conspirators just at the moment when they were all but realised. But she dissembled whatever resentment she may have felt, and calmly told the king that the advice of Gondi came too late. Notwithstanding, however, all that she and her accomplices could say, the king still obstinately refused his assent to their murderous scheme. Another hour was spent, in argument and entreaty upon their part, and in recrimination upon his, without effect. But the contest was unequal between the most wicked woman that ever wore a crown and a wayward youth whose fiery passions she had never attempted to soothe or to control. To the last, Charles struggled to exempt from slaughter the admiral and the young Rochefoucauld, who was an especial favourite of the king; but the infernal conclave was inexorable, and at length, in another paroxysm of fury, he gave his assent to the massacre, and rushed like a maniac from the apartment.

There was not a moment to be lost. The king

might relent; he might even in a fit of rage or remorse divulge the secret to the admiral. The conspirators determined to proceed that very night. Henry of Guise, who from his childhood had been nurtured in the belief that Coligni was his father's murderer, was forthwith summoned to the Louvre. To him was intrusted the attack on the admiral's hotel, with which the work of slaughter was to commence. To the other districts of the city other leaders were appointed, and the general military superintendence of the massacre was committed to Marshal Tavannes. It was finally settled that the great bell of the Palace of Justice, which could be distinctly heard throughout the city, was to sound the death-knell of the Huguenots in Paris.

It was long past midnight before all the preparations were completed. The king had spent the greater part of the day in the solitude of his chamber. When any of the conspirators ventured to approach him, he repelled them with frowns and muttered threats; and he was especially incensed against his brother, whom he erroneously supposed to be the chief contriver of the plot. Catherine strove to soothe the king by the hypocritical assurance that mercy to the guilty was cruelty to the innocent, and he was silenced if not convinced by her devices; but to the last moment the conspirators were in dread lest he should betray them. Even Catherine herself began to show symptoms of uneasiness as the fatal hour approached, and she listened anxiously with her accomplices for the preconcerted signal. But the great bell was silent still; and accompanied by the Duke of Anjou and Gondi, she stepped out on a balcony which commanded a view of

the sleeping city. It was shrouded in the gloom which immediately precedes the dawn; and the oppressive stillness of the scene, and the sickening suspense, proved too much even for the iron nerves of the queen-mother. The horrors and the dangers of the crime she had so calmly meditated now rose to her guilty fancy in their true colours; and when, just as the day was breaking, the report of a pistol fired by an unknown hand startled the royal assassin, she hastily despatched a messenger to the Duke of Guise, desiring him to spare the admiral. But her repentance — the result, according to an eyewitness,[1] not of compassion for her victim, but of terror for herself —was now of no avail, for the messenger speedily returned with the tidings that Coligni was already dead. The feast of blood had begun, and no human power could now restrain the fiendish appetite of the populace of Paris. Long had they cherished a deadly hatred of the Huguenots; the day of vengeance had come at last, and such a day had never yet been witnessed in all the annals of religious strife.[2]

At Rome and at Madrid,[3] where the alliance between

[1] The Marshal Tavannes.

[2] The above narrative has been chiefly drawn from Henry Martin, Histoire de France; Soldan Protestantismus in Frankreich; and the recent work entitled the 'Massacre of St Bartholomew,' by Henry White, in which the various authorities on the subject are carefully and ably examined.

[3] It has been often asserted that the exultation manifested at Rome and at Madrid on the occasion of the massacre proved the complicity of the Pope and of Philip in the plot. But as we have no evidence of this, we must look for another explanation of their conduct, and that is readily furnished by the fact that the explosion in Paris was not only unlooked for, but that it instantly relieved the Papal Court and the King of Spain from a great peril which they thought they saw impending—

Charles and the Huguenots had caused the most serious alarm, the unlooked-for intelligence of the massacre was received with unbounded satisfaction. The Pope was relieved from all anxiety respecting the fidelity of the eldest son of the Church; and Philip, for the first time in his life, was seen to laugh. He had good reason; for the death of Coligni saved him a war with France, which at this time he was most anxious to avoid. Throughout Protestant Europe, and more especially in England and in Scotland, the massacre of Paris was regarded with mingled horror and consternation. That it had been long premeditated, and that Charles had invited Coligni and his friends to the royal wedding with the deliberate purpose of putting them to death, became fixed articles of belief with every true Reformer. It was inevitable, under the circumstances, that the utmost animosity should be kindled against the professors of the ancient faith, and that the wildest rumours should be circulated regarding their designs against the Protestants of Britain. On the prospects of the Scottish queen, especially in Scotland,[1] the news of the massacre exercised a most disastrous effect. Knox was now a dying man, but

namely, the approaching apostasy of the eldest son of the Church. They well knew that the breach between the house of Valois and the Protestants was henceforth irreparable.

[1] On the 3d of October a proclamation was issued at Edinburgh by the regent, "for the convention of the professors of the true religion within the realm, to consult and deliberate upon the imminent dangers and conspiracies of the Papists." This document asserted that "the great murders and more than beastly cruelties" perpetrated abroad, "and proceeding, no doubt, out of that unhappy, devilish, and terrible Council of Trent," were intended to be followed by persecutions of still greater cruelty, if that were possible, against the Christians of Scotland. Commissioners from the whole kingdom were therefore summoned to meet in Edinburgh on the 20th of the same month, to concert measures against the common danger.—Bannatyne, Memorials, 271.

he still retained strength enough to denounce with all his pristine powers the unparalleled perfidy of the house of Valois, and to proclaim aloud, in the spirit of the ancient prophets, that no descendant of the perjured king should ever mount the throne of France. Knox only expressed, in his own emphatic language, the general sentiments of his countrymen on the occasion—for Catholics as well as Protestants regarded with abhorrence the butchery of St Bartholomew; and as France was the only quarter whence the partisans of the queen could at this time look for substantial aid, a prejudice was created against both them and their Continental allies, which the regent and his friends sought to aggravate to the utmost of their power.

Meanwhile Lord Burghley did not fail to perceive that the occasion was highly opportune for at length ridding Sheffield Castle of its dangerous inmate. He knew that, right or wrong, popular prejudice would connect the Scottish queen in some way with the massacre; and, a few days after the news reached England, Sandys, the Bishop of London, very probably at the instigation of the Lord Treasurer, recommended in plain terms "that her head should be cut off forthwith."[1] This truly orthodox advice was tendered by the Bishop on the 8th of September; and two days later, Henry Killigrew received instructions to proceed to Scotland on a very secret and important mission, the object of which it is now necessary to explain.

Burghley, it appears, had by this time discovered his egregious blunder in making a prisoner of the Scottish queen; for Killigrew is first of all informed that "nothing presently is more necessary than that the realm might be relieved of her."[2] And although,

[1] See Wright, i. 439.

[2] Murdin, 225.

he added, she might be lawfully put to death in England,[1] it seemed "for certain respects better" that she should be delivered up to the Regent of Scotland and his friends, provided they would undertake the part of executioners; "for," added the Lord Treasurer, who seemed now fully alive to the errors of his past policy, "to have her and to keep her were of all others the most dangerous." But this proposal was not to be made in form to the Scottish regent. Killigrew was to represent to him the great inconvenience of detaining Mary in England; and if he failed to take the hint, the envoy was to suggest, "as if from himself," that if an offer were made to relieve the English queen of her now unwelcome guest, it might probably at this critical time be accepted. But this suggestion was only to be made in case of absolute necessity, for Killigrew was to endeavour, if possible, to induce the regent to open the matter in the first instance to him. No one was acquainted with the real object of Killigrew's mission except Burghley, Leicester, and Elizabeth herself; and she appears to have consented with reluctance to the scheme, for she declared, in the presence of her two ministers and of Killigrew, that they were the only persons intrusted with the secret, and that if it was ever divulged, they certainly should answer for it. Killigrew replied that "he would keep the secret as he would his life,"[2] and immediately set out for Scotland.

That Elizabeth believed herself to be in real danger at this time, and that Burghley took advantage of her fears to obtain her consent to the scheme, is highly probable. But view it as we may, the proceeding was infamous in the extreme. She had bribed the

[1] Upon what pretext he does not say.

[2] Tytler, vii. 313.

Scots to sell Northumberland, she would bribe them now to kill their queen; and she rightly judged that the men who had received the price of Percy's blood would be no less willing to treat for that of Mary Stewart. On his arrival in Scotland, the first object of Killigrew was to find out "a fit instrument," to use his own words, to sound the regent; and in Nicolas Elphinstone, who, two years before,[1] had been employed by the Regent Murray to obtain the surrender of the Scottish queen, he discovered one in all respects adapted to his purpose. On the authority of this most willing agent, Killigrew, on the 19th of September, informed Lord Burghley that he expected "the regent and the Earl of Morton would soon break their minds unto him secretly."[2] The Lord Treasurer, in reply, fearing, no doubt, that his mistress might at any moment change her mind, urged Killigrew to lose no time in proceeding with the business, "which daily, yea hourly," occupied his thoughts. The envoy was well aware of the necessity of expedition, and proved himself both active and discreet. The Earl of Morton, whose consent was essential to the proposed surrender of the queen, was at the time confined to bed by sickness; but, like his old accomplice Ruthven, he was ready enough, when there was a murder to be done, to forget his bodily ailments. After some preliminary communications, he invited the regent and the English envoy to a secret interview at his castle of Dalkeith, where "the great matter," as Killigrew described it, was at length discussed. No one else was present; and, as might have been expected, there was a good

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. 510.

[2] Burghley to Killigrew, 29th September; Cotton MSS.

deal of fencing before anything definite was said. At length Killigrew, to bring the matter to a point, said, in accordance with his instructions, that unless they desired him to write on the subject upon which they had met, he would upon no account move in the matter. Upon this Morton raised himself in his bed, and declared that both he and the regent desired the queen's death, "as a sovereign salve for all their sores." He further said that some kind of ceremony or process would be necessary, and that the noblemen and clergy must be summoned to witness her death, "after *a secret manner.*" Morton further added—and the fact is instructive—that the Queen of England would require "to send such a convoy with the party *that, in case there were people would not like of it*, they might be able to keep the field." On these conditions, he assured Killigrew that the royal captive should be put to death within three hours of her arrival in Scotland.[1]

It is very evident from the last stipulation made by Morton, that, notwithstanding the unpromising aspect of affairs, the queen's friends in Scotland were still so numerous that he could not venture to take her life without the presence of an English force; and that he should have stipulated for the aid of English troops for such a purpose, is not the least of the crimes with which his memory is stained. With respect to the Regent Mar, Killigrew complained that he found him more "cold than Morton;" but the latter privately informed him that, if the regent showed any hesitation in the business, it could be done without him, as he himself was lieutenant-general of the whole of Scotland

[1] Killigrew to Burghley and Leicester, 9th October 1572; Caligula, c. iii. 375.—See Appendix C.

south of the Tay, and could on his own authority, in case of need, come to terms with the English Government respecting the murder of his sovereign.[1]

But it soon appeared that the coldness of Mar arose, not from any moral scruples, but from the apparent difficulty of carrying into effect Lord Burghley's scheme. As soon as the regent was assured that it was practicable, he showed himself quite as eager as Morton for its speedy execution. A few days after the meeting at Dalkeith, Killigrew had an interview with him at Stirling, and was pleased to find that all traces of doubt and hesitation had passed away. Mar took the opportunity, at the same time, of informing the English envoy that he was much in want of money for the payment of his troops, and expressed a hope that, under the circumstances, Elizabeth would furnish him with a supply.[2]

Killigrew and the two earls now understood each other. It only remained to settle the terms upon which the Scottish queen should be surrendered; and Killigrew was speedily furnished with the conditions upon which Mar and Morton agreed to perform their part of the bargain. They were to the following effect: That the Queen of England should take the young King of Scots under her protection; that his claim of succession to the English crown should not be prejudiced by any sentence to be passed against his mother; and that the Earls of Huntingdon, Bedford, or Essex, accompanied with two or three thousand troops, should assist at her execution. It was further required that

[1] Killigrew to Burghley and Leicester, 13th October 1572; Cotton MSS.

[2] The same to the same, 19th October 1572; Cotton MSS.

these troops should afterwards join the forces of the regent and reduce Edinburgh Castle. The fortress was then to be delivered up to the regent, and all arrears of pay due to the Scottish forces to be paid by the Queen of England.

These demands appeared to Burghley unreasonably high, and he complained bitterly of their extortionate character.[1] But the circumstances were unprecedented; the project he had in hand was fraught with danger to all concerned, and it was unreasonable to expect that Mar and Morton would run the necessary risk without a proportionate reward. To give up a fugitive to an enemy had from the earliest ages[2] been regarded as an unpardonable crime; but to bargain, in addition, for the death of the victim, was an atrocity peculiar to this. Burghley and his mistress, moreover, upon their part, had taken the precaution to stipulate that they should have ample security for the due performance of the murderous contract. Certain noblemen, to be named by the regent, were to repair

[1] Burghley to Leicester, 3d November 1572; Cotton MSS.

[2] A striking example is related by Herodotus. He informs us that when Pactyas the Lydian, who had excited a revolt against the great Cyrus, fled to Cyme, the Persian king demanded that his enemy should be delivered up. The Cymeans consulted the oracle in the following terms: "To avoid a cruel death from the Persians, Pactyas, a Lydian, fled to us for refuge; the Persians require us to deliver him into their hands: much as we fear their power, we fear still more to withdraw our protection from a suppliant." The oracle being, no doubt, under Persian influence, replied that the fugitive should be given up. But it was disobeyed notwithstanding; for, instead of handing him over to Cyrus, the Cymeans furnished Pactyas with the means of escaping to the Greek Islands. Nor does their refusal to give up his rebellious subject appear to have been in any way resented by the great king.—Cary's Herod., i. 160. It is curious to find that, during the reign of the great Cyrus, a higher tone of international morality prevailed than in the days of Elizabeth.

to England, and there to remain as hostages[1] until their sovereign was put to death. In other words, they were to pledge their lives that Mar and Morton should kill their queen. Is there any other instance on record where hostages were required as security for the perpetration of a murder?

Before, however, any agreement was concluded, the sudden death of the Regent Mar, who expired at Stirling on the 28th of October after a very short illness,[2] put an end to the negotiations. It was a startling coincidence that twice within two years the surrender of Mary to her enemies should have been prevented by the unexpected death of a Scottish regent. With the Regent Murray the bargain had actually been completed at the time he was struck down;[3] and had Mar lived, as both parties were equally eager for Mary's death, we cannot doubt that they would eventually have come to terms. It was a just retribution on Burghley and his mistress that they should find themselves hopelessly saddled with a prisoner whom they dared neither to set at liberty nor to put to death.

The Lord Treasurer gave vent to his chagrin in a strain of pious sentiment somewhat unusual with him. To his brother conspirator Leicester, he ever expressed a fear that their mistress had grievously offended the Almighty by refusing to imbrue her hands in her cousin's blood.[4] Meanwhile their intended victim remained wholly unconscious of the danger to which she had been exposed. So well had the secret been kept

[1] Killigrew's letter of 9th October.—Appendix C.
[2] Tytler, vii. 323. [3] Vol. i. 510.
[4] Burghley to Walsingham, 3d Nov. 1572; Cotton MSS.

by those intrusted with it, both in England and in Scotland, that not the slightest allusion to it is to be found either in the correspondence of the queen or of her friends. It must be admitted that the few persons who were in the secret had every motive for preserving silence.

Whether Knox was one of these, is a question which cannot be positively answered in the affirmative; but the evidence of his complicity in Burghley's plot is all but conclusive. That the Reformer was acquainted with the negotiations for the surrender of the queen which were put an end to by the death of the Regent Murray, we cannot doubt.[1] It is notorious that both in public and in private he had subsequently denounced her as a murderess, and declared that she ought to die the death. Bearing these things in mind, we are not surprised to learn that, by the directions of Lord Burghley, Killigrew, on his arrival[2] in Scotland, sought an interview with the Reformer. What passed between them we do not know, for the letter in which the English envoy described the interview has disappeared. But in a subsequent letter of the 6th of October, addressed to Lord Burghley, he says,—"The postscript of your lordship's letter I answer thus: I trust to satisfy Morton; and for John Knox, *that thing, you may see by my despatch to Mr Secretary, is done.*"[3] He then goes on to describe Knox's feeble

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. 508.

[2] Knox's secretary has made an entry of the date of Killigrew's arrival as follows: "The 12th of September Mr Killigraue, a guid and godly Protestant, came to Edinburgh." Of the object of his visit the secretary seems to have been wholly ignorant.—Bannatyne, Memorials, 265.

[3] See Appendix C. I have made a careful search both at the British Museum and at the Record Office for the despatch here referred to, but it is not preserved in either of those repositories.

state of health, and to repeat his warnings that no faith should be kept with the "Castilians"—meaning Kirkaldy, Maitland, and their friends, who still held Edinburgh Castle for the queen.

In another letter, written three days later, Killigrew, speaking of the proposed execution of the queen, says he is certain that "all the ministers"—for he makes no exception—"would be right glad of it." Taken in connection with what he had said so shortly before of Knox, and bearing in mind the rabid hostility of the Reformer to his sovereign, we cannot but conclude that he both knew and approved of Burghley's plot.

That Knox was sincere in his religious professions, no one has ever doubted; but that his notions of right and wrong were obscured, if not destroyed, by his intemperate zeal, is equally apparent. Because he believed in all the dismal dogmas of Calvin, he seems to have deemed it to be his privilege and his duty to make the most outrageous accusations against every one who differed with him in opinion; and that two such distinguished disciples of reform as Kirkaldy and Maitland should have wholly abandoned their friends for the party of the queen, appears at this time to have exasperated him to the utmost. Although unable to mount the pulpit without assistance, he publicly denounced the one as "a murderer and a cut-throat,"[1] and the other as an "atheist."[2] The Laird of Grange was not a man to submit in silence to such imputations; and he addressed a letter to John Craig, the colleague of Knox, calling upon him publicly to deny the charge, and further to declare that of the two "Knox was the most desirous of innocent blood,"

[1] Bannatyne, i. 72 *et seq.* [2] Ibid., 281.

and that he was ready to incur the instant vengeance of heaven if he did not speak the truth. The pointed allusion to the Reformer's thirst "for innocent blood" referred clearly to his notorious enmity to the queen.

As Craig, who was a man of peace, refused to interfere in the controversy, Kirkaldy laid his complaint before the Kirk-Session of Edinburgh, a court composed of laymen as well as clergy; and Knox finally attempted an explanation of the charge he had made against his former friend. He asserted that although Kirkaldy might not be a murderer in fact, he was a "murderer in his heart;"[1] that John the Evangelist had pronounced the hatred of the heart to be murder before God, and that "whosoever loved not his brother was a manslayer." This line of argument may well surprise us in the mouth of one to whom Christian charity, in its true and noble sense, was a thing unknown—who had rejoiced over the murders of Cardinal Beaton and the Duke of Guise, who had exulted at the untimely death of Francis II., who had been an accessory to the assassination of Riccio, who had prayed for the death of his sovereign, who had plotted for her surrender into the hands of her mortal enemies, and who was even accused of having plotted in secret against the life of Darnley, whose tragical fate he never ceased in public to deplore. But we are often quick to perceive, and prone to condemn, in others, the vices most conspicuous in ourselves; and when Knox asserted that Kirkaldy was a murderer in his heart, it probably never occurred to him that the charge might have been made with far more justice against himself.

[1] Bannatyne, 77.

We have said that Knox had been accused of plotting against the life of Darnley; and it is to be observed that the charge was made, not by his Catholic enemies, but by a brother minister of the Reformed Kirk. One Robert Hamilton of St Andrews openly declared about this time that, "if all things were well tried, John Knox was as great a murderer as any Hamilton in Scotland;"[1] and that he had signed the bond for the murder of Darnley at Perth, along with the Earl of Murray, shortly before the queen's marriage in 1565. Now we have no proof that Knox signed any such bond, nor indeed that any such bond existed; but we know that both he and his father-in-law, Lord Ochiltree, were acting in concert with Murray at this time in his efforts to prevent the marriage.[2] Knox had even endeavoured on that occasion to induce the people of Edinburgh to take up arms against the queen, but he exerted all his powers in vain. It is extremely probable, therefore, that he was in the confidence of Murray and Argyll when they planned[3] the seizure of Darnley, as he certainly was some months later when they planned the death of Riccio. If we are to believe the biographer and panegyrist of Knox, Hamilton afterwards withdrew the accusation, or rather denied that he had ever made it. But it is to be observed that, in replying to it, Knox denied only that he had signed a bond for Darnley's murder—a fact quite consistent with his knowledge and approval of the plot.[4]

Maitland was no less prompt in replying to the charge of atheism than Kirkaldy had been in denying that of murder. The secretary complained to the

[1] Bannatyne, 260.
[2] Tytler, vi. 346.
[3] Vol. i. 108.
[4] Bannatyne, 261.

kirk-session of the slanderous words of Knox, and required that he should either be compelled to prove that they were true, or otherwise that he should be dealt with as they might think fit; "at least," he added, "that ye receive not hereafter every word proceeding from his mouth as oracles, and know that he is but a man subject to vanity."[1]

Knox was becoming daily more feeble, but he continued to take a lively interest in public affairs to the last; and his political and religious hatreds were in no degree weakened by the near approach of death. He replied to the complaint of Maitland that it was well known to all men that he was a perpetual disturber of the public peace, which plainly showed that he denied there was a God to punish such mischiefs;[2] and as Buchanan had quoted Cato the Censor to prove that Mary Stewart was a murderess, Knox quoted the 9th Psalm to prove that Maitland was an atheist. But like most ecclesiastical demagogues, the Reformer did not excel in argument. He could move with astonishing effect the passions of a friendly audience; and the intensity of his convictions, his profound belief in the wickedness of his opponents, and his dauntless and domineering temper, eminently fitted him to be the leader of a religious revolution, of which popular violence was the most conspicuous instrument. At the commencement of his public career he had found Maitland on the side of his opponents; for while he was hounding on the mob to the work of destruction at Perth and St Andrews, the secretary was the chief adviser of Mary of Lorraine. But from the time that Maitland abandoned her service until he

[1] Bannatyne, 281, 282. [2] Ibid., 284.

finally joined the party of her daughter, he had been the constant ally of Knox. Now, towards the close of their lives, the two men, by far the most remarkable that Scotland in that age produced, had become once more antagonists. Between the most vehement of Reformers and the most versatile of politicians, there never could have been any genuine sympathy. We cannot believe that Knox ever cordially trusted Maitland; and to a man of Maitland's temperament, the overweening arrogance of Knox must have been especially offensive. But for the time their alliance was a political necessity; and each in his own sphere exercised over his countrymen an incalculable amount of influence. There was, indeed, much truth in the allegation of Knox that the secretary was the chief author of all the troubles which had in his time afflicted England as well as Scotland. In all the important transactions of the past ten years he had taken a leading part; and what a flood of light he might have thrown upon the secret history of that stormy time! If he had dared to speak, he might have now explained the true motives for Murray's rebellion, and the true cause of Riccio's murder. He might probably have told that it was he who first flattered Bothwell with the hopes of marrying the queen, as we know he had subsequently tempted the Duke of Norfolk in England. He could have told who first proposed the Craigmillar bond, and who were the real murderers of Darnley. He alone could have laid bare the secrets of the double plot against Bothwell and the queen, and the true history of the forged letters of the casket. He could have thoroughly exposed the deep treachery of Murray, the tortuous policy of Cecil, and the helpless vacillations

of Elizabeth throughout the conferences at York and Westminster. All this he might have told, and infinitely more; but he was silent,[1] for the obvious reason that he dared not criminate others without proclaiming to the world his own pre-eminent share of guilt.

No statesman ever enjoyed among his contemporaries a higher reputation for ability. All men distrusted, yet all deferred to him; and every party to which he successively gave his services tacitly acknowledged him as leader. It was not without reason that he acquired this remarkable ascendancy, for his talents were eminently of the practical kind. He was ready and eloquent of speech; brimful of resources; and while others hesitated, ever prepared to act decisively and boldly. He was not one of those politicians who look far into futurity, for his sole ambition seemed to be to adapt himself to the exigencies of the hour; and this he did with singular success. His knowledge of men was unerring; and in playing on their weaknesses he showed unrivalled skill. He was a scholar, too, and in his diplomatic controversies could cite an apt quotation from Demosthenes, or a witty line from Chaucer, to silence or to ridicule an adversary. Machia-

[1] In a conversation with Craig, the colleague of Knox, Maitland related an anecdote of Lord Lindsay as follows: He says that, before the conferences at York and Westminster, Lindsay, a man of hot and choleric temper, flatly refused to accompany the Regent Murray to England, declaring, "with a great oath," that if forced to go, he would spoil all by telling the truth. Lindsay, who was not in the plot against Darnley, was finally induced to go to Westminster, by what means we are not informed, but probably on the promise that he should not be called as a witness before Elizabeth's commissioners, and be compelled to state the real circumstances under which Mary was compelled to resign her crown at Lochleven.—Bannatyne, Memorials.

velli recommends his prince not to choose a man of genius for his minister; and no better illustration of the wisdom of the Florentine can be found than in the history of Maitland. Had he possessed less talent and more honesty, it would have been far better for his country and himself. He might have been the guide and the protector of his youthful sovereign through the countless dangers which beset her at every step. He, and he alone, could have taught her how to rule those fierce and lawless nobles who were sworn enemies alike of the people and the Crown. But a steady and consistent course of conduct had no attractions for that restless spirit. In the world of politics he was from first to last a gambler, not from necessity, but choice. He could only breathe freely in an atmosphere of treason; and if in the prosecution of a cherished scheme forgery or murder became essential to success, such obstacles, by stimulating his ingenuity and daring, were more calculated to attract than to scare him from his project. Such was William Maitland, the "chameleon of politics," as he was justly nicknamed by Buchanan—"the flower of the wits of Scotland," according to Elizabeth[1]—over whom he acquired, and to the last maintained, a degree of influence which his rare powers of intellect can alone explain. There must indeed have been something strangely attractive about the man; for although he was universally known to be the most faithless of politicians, no one seems to have ever spoken harshly of him excepting Knox.[2] It is by no means improbable,

[1] Elizabeth to Sussex, 11th August 1870; Record Office.

[2] Although a sharp correspondence ensued between Maitland and Sussex after the secretary finally joined the party of the queen, the earl interfered on his behalf, as the following peremptory letter addressed to

indeed, that Elizabeth regarded the attitude of the secretary at this time with secret approval. She had reproached him bitterly[1] with his ingratitude when he joined the rebellion of Morton; she could hardly blame him for the devotion he was exhibiting now to the sovereign to whom he owed so much.

By his tardy return to the path of duty, Maitland did indeed make some atonement for his crimes. But his former good fortune had now deserted him, and the appalling events in France had destroyed all immediate hopes of succour from abroad. Like his antagonist Knox, moreover, he was now a mere wreck. Both men were worn out before their time by excessive mental toil. But although hopelessly paralysed,[2] and

Randolph, who was at the time in Scotland, will show: "Master Randolph, I hear that Lethington is put to the horn—his lands and goods confiscated and seized. If it be so, it doth not accord with the good faith the queen's majesty meant in the articles accorded between her highness and the Bishop of Ross, nor with the writing I subscribed; and therefore I have written to the regent (Lennox) and others in that matter. And although I, for my part, be too simple to be made a minister in princes' causes, yet, truly, I weigh mine own honour so much as I will not be made a minister to subscribe to anything wherein my good faith and true meaning should be abused to my dishonour, or any person trusting to that he shall accord in writing with me should thereby be by fraud deceived."—Dated 8th October 1570; quoted by Tytler, vii. 283.

[1] See vol. i. 359.

[2] In Bannatyne's Memorials we have a graphic account of the secretary, who some months before had arrived from the north at Leith: "On Tuysday the 10 of Aprile, the heid of wit, the secretare, landit in the nycht at Leith, whair he remayned till the morne, and was borne up with sex workmen, with sling and ling, and Mr Robert Maitland haulding up his heid. And when they had put him in at the castle yeat, ilk ane of the workmen got three shillings, which they receavit grudginglie, hoping to have gottin mair for their labouris. And being put in the Lord Home's chalmer, he maid the lord exceading angrie that he sould be dislodged for sic a one." Lord Home had now declared for the queen, and was with Kirkaldy in Edinburgh Castle.—Bannatyne, p. 110.

confined to his chamber in the castle, he was plotting and scheming as busily as ever, still hopeful of fresh aid from France, still confident of ultimate success. There was but one contingency to fear, and that was the active intervention of the Queen of England. He well knew that Kirkaldy could hold the castle against any Scottish force that could be brought against him.

On the 24th of November John Knox died;[1] and on the same day Morton, who had virtually ruled the party of the young king since the death of Murray, was elected to the regency.[2] A few days before, he paid a visit to the Reformer, and the first question he put to the regent elect was remarkable. He asked him if he "knew anything of the king's murder."[3] What caused him to recur to such a subject at such a time? Darnley had been in his grave five years and more, and Knox had ever since, in public and in private, denounced the queen as his murderess. What now induced the dying man to suspect that his patron Morton might be in the secret? Is it possible that, as he felt his end approaching, some vague, uneasy apprehension filled his mind—a fear lest, at the instigation of the guilty, he had accused the innocent? We cannot tell; but the incident is worthy to be noted, as well as the important fact that during his latter days he had ceased to revile the queen. We need hardly add that Morton stopped his inquiries at once by falsely denying all knowledge of the murder.

[1] Tytler, vii. 330. [2] Ibid.

[3] "First of all he speirit gif I knew anything of the king's murder. I answered, indeed I knew nothing of it."—Confession of Morton in Bannatyne's Memorials, 326.

That Knox died poor is a circumstance that has been often mentioned to his credit; but before claiming for him the virtue of disinterestedness, his admirers ought to show that he ever had the opportunity of acquiring riches. It is notorious that, after the religious revolution of 1560, the Protestant nobles laid their hands on the great bulk of the Church lands and revenues. No one denounced their rapacity more than Knox himself, or complained more bitterly of the poverty to which they had reduced the clergy. It is difficult, therefore, to see how, as a minister of the Reformed Kirk, Knox could have acquired wealth. But it may be conceded that worldly wealth was not the aim of his ambition. The prize for which he toiled and fought was spiritual dominion; and compared with that, he regarded everything as worthless. He was the Hildebrand of Calvinism, and in his own narrow sphere was every whit as intolerant and overbearing as the most ambitious of the Pontiffs. In alluding to his poverty, he would boast at times that he might, if he had chosen, have obtained, through Lord Burghley, a wealthy bishopric in England. But he was at all times given to exaggeration; and beyond his own assertion, we have no proof of this very improbable fact.[1] By his

[1] In Killigrew's letter to Lord Burghley of the 6th of October, we find the following passage relating to an interview he had just had with Knox: "He" (Knox) "said, further, that it was not long of your lordship that he was not a great bishop in England," &c.—Caligula, c. iii. 371. We may perhaps infer from this passage that Burghley had flattered the Reformer at some time with the prospect of a mitre. But if so, he had done it to serve some temporary purpose; for he well knew that Elizabeth utterly detested Knox, and would never have consented to make him a bishop. It was in the reign of Edward VI. that the Duke of Northumberland recommended the king to appoint him to the see of Rochester.—See Works of John Knox, by David Laing, iii. 81.

second wife, Margaret Stewart, a daughter of Lord Ochiltree, he left three young children, upon whom an annuity was settled by the General Assembly. His widow subsequently married Andrew Ker of Faudonside, described by the latest and best biographer of Knox as "a strenous supporter of the Reformation."[1] We have seen that he had given signal proofs of his sincerity in the cause by holding his pistol to the queen's breast during the murder of Riccio,[2] and by his presence at the Kirk-of-Field[3] when Darnley was in the hands of his assassins.

By his elevation to the regency, Morton had at length attained the summit of his ambition; and he proceeded with characteristic craft to consolidate his power. It was fortunate for him that his opponents at this time were without an acknowledged head. Huntly and the Hamiltons, from the extent of their possessions and the number of their vassals, had long been regarded as the chiefs of the queen's party in Scotland; but Kirkaldy and Maitland were acting independently of their noble allies: and if the regent could come to terms with either section of the queen's partisans, he might hope speedily to overcome the other.

He accordingly, through Sir James Melvill, offered to treat with Kirkaldy for the surrender of the castle, on conditions highly advantageous to the latter;[4] and had Grange and Maitland been prepared to abandon the cause they had adopted, they had now an excel-

[1] M'Crie, 394. [2] *Ante*, vol. i. 139. [3] *Ante*, vol. i. 246.

[4] He offered him, according to Melvill, the bishopric of St Andrews—that is, the revenues attached to the see—as well as the castle of Blackness.—Memoirs, 118.

lent opportunity of coming to terms with the regent. But Kirkaldy declined to treat unless Huntly and the Hamiltons were also parties to the agreement—in other words, unless there was a general peace. Melvill returned highly pleased with the result of his mission; but to his surprise Morton expressed his disappointment, and he at once explained the cause. "James," he said, "I will be plain with you. It is not my interest to agree with them all, for then their faction will be as strong as ever it was; thereby they may some day circumvent me if they please,—therefore it is my game to divide them. And, moreover, there have been great troubles in this country this while bygone, and during them great wrongs and extortions committed, for the which some fashion of punishment must be made; and I would rather that the crimes should be laid upon the Hamiltons, the Earl of Huntly, and their adherents, than upon your friends; *and by their wreck I will get more profit* than by that of those in the castle, that have not so great lands to escheat to us as the reward of our labours."[1]

Nothing could be plainer than the regent's language. He desired to come to terms with Kirkaldy and his friends that he might be enabled to crush Huntly and the Hamiltons, and forfeit their broad lands, which in extent and value far exceeded those of the "Castilians." Melvill accordingly returned to the castle and explained the regent's views to Grange. But Kirkaldy adhered to his resolution of making no separate treaty with Morton,[2] of whose good faith he

[1] Melvill Memoirs, 119.

[2] It appears that Kirkaldy doubted whether his friends would be equally loyal to him. Speaking of Huntly and his adherents, he said,

probably entertained strong doubts. The negotiation was accordingly broken off.

But the regent was more successful in another quarter. By means of the English envoy Killigrew, who had instructions to give Morton all the support in his power, terms of pacification were offered to Huntly and his friends at Perth. After some discussion, a formal treaty was concluded in that city on the 23d of February 1573,[1] by which the chiefs of the queen's party acknowledged Morton as regent, while he engaged in the name of the infant king that all acts of forfeiture passed against Huntly and his friends should be rescinded. In accordance with this treaty, Sir Adam Gordon, who had so long maintained the queen's authority in the north, laid down his arms and shortly afterwards retired to France; and the whole of Scotland, with the exception of Edinburgh Castle, was subjected to the authority of the regent.

Amid these transactions Killigrew did not lose sight of the "great matter" which was the true, though secret, object of his visit to Scotland; and Morton was as eager for the death of the queen as ever. But the Perth pacification had rendered the project, for a time at least, impracticable. It could

"If now they would abandon him, and agree without him and those in his company, he had deserved better at their hands; yet he had rather that they should leave and deceive him than that he should do it unto them."—Ibid.

[1] Historie of King James the Sext; Bannatyne, 305. It appears that Sir James Balfour, who is said to have drawn up the bond for Darnley's murder, contrived to come to terms with his old accomplice Morton. Knox's secretary says, "Sir James Balfoure had made his moyen befoir with the regent, and so remained not in the castle with the rest of the traitouris, albeit he is als grit a traitour as ony of them all."—Bannatyne, 296.

not be expected that Huntly and the Hamiltons, with all their formidable array of friends and dependants, would consent to the murder of their sovereign. Morton well knew that a fierce renewal of the war would be the necessary and immediate consequence of such an act. It is not probable that he ventured even to sound the men who had so long acted as the chiefs of Mary's party on the subject. It is certain, at all events, that the Perth pacification put an end, for the time, to all negotiations for the surrender of the queen.[1]

The truce which had been signed between Kirkaldy and the Regent Mar on the 30th of July had been prolonged from time to time until the 1st of January,[2] when hostilities recommenced; and in spite of the Perth pacification, the "Castilians" seemed determined to hold out to the last. Maitland, who exercised unbounded influence over Grange, was fully impressed with the belief that Elizabeth would not venture to interfere in the struggle. He counted on her well-known parsimony, as well as on her reluctance at the time to break with France. Nor had he been disappointed in his expectations of foreign aid; for Sir James Kirkaldy, the brother of Grange, arrived about this time at Blackness,[3] in the Firth of Forth, with a considerable sum of money and a quantity of military stores. But by a strange accident these supplies, of which the garrison of Edinburgh stood much in need, did not reach their destination. During the absence of Sir James in France, Morton, as unscrupulous in private as he was in public life, had corrupted his wife, and she treacherously betrayed the

[1] Tytler, vii. 338 *et seq.* [2] Bannatyne, 206. [3] Ibid., 297.

secret to the regent, who caused her husband to be seized,[1] along with all the stores he had landed for the service of the queen. Notwithstanding this serious loss, the "Castilians" were not discouraged: they still looked for fresh aid from France; their artillery was decidedly superior to that of their assailants; they still had abundance of ammunition; and, provided Elizabeth did not interfere, they could defy any force the regent might bring against them.

Under these circumstances Killigrew, who still remained in Scotland, addressed on the 9th of March a most urgent letter to Lord Burghley, entreating him to lose no time in sending a sufficient force to co-operate with the regent in the capture of the castle. Although Mary's most powerful friends had been disarmed by the treaty of Perth, he described the position of affairs as still extremely critical. He had ascertained that Lord Seton, that most stanch and zealous of all Mary's partisans, had been already sounding Morton on the subject of a French alliance. He had ascertained that her ambassador in Paris had contrived to communicate with the "Castilians," and to

[1] The mode by which Morton accomplished his purpose is thus described by a contemporary: "The regent devised a subtillitye, and persuadit Sir James his awin wyfe to betray him, quhilk she did upon the tent day of Februar thaireafter, and came thair to vessit him; but when she was willing to return, she could not content unless he with his souldiers should convoy hir a peece of the way from the hous, alledging that Captain Lambie was lyand in the way to spoill hir. Bot that capten was so forseine of this stratagem that he knew weill that Sir James should be trained furth, and thairfore he lay at the bak of a hill narr the castell, behaulding the tyme; sa that howsoone he espyit Sir James to be removit from the hous he then immediately approached with his souldiers," &c. Through the treachery of his wife, Kirkaldy thus fell into the hands of the regent.—Historie of King James the Sext, 208.

assure them of the continued support of the French king. The English envoy further reminded Burghley that the Pope had consented to assist them with money, and that the bearer of the promised aid was already on his way to Scotland. In conclusion, he warned the Lord Treasurer that if the Castle of Edinburgh was not speedily taken, the work of the past twelve years must be undone, and England as well as Scotland exposed to the most serious dangers.[1]

By these arguments Elizabeth was at last convinced; and, to the unspeakable relief of Burghley, she consented to send a force to the assistance of Morton. It is true that by the treaty of Blois, which was not yet a year old, Elizabeth had bound herself not to send any troops to Scotland, except for the purpose of capturing her rebels in that country;[2] but there were none of her rebels in Edinburgh Castle, so she could not, on that pretext, send a force to the assistance of the besiegers. But the massacre of the Protestants in France had led to a renewal of the civil war; and in the distracted condition of his kingdom, Charles was not in a condition to insist on the strict performance of the treaty.[3] In spite, therefore, of the protest of the French ambassador,[4] Sir William Drury, the marshall of Berwick, received orders to march to Edinburgh with a body of troops and an ample supply of artillery, of which the regent stood much in need.

[1] Killigrew to Burghley, March 9; Record Office.

[2] See the treaty in Dumont corps diplomatique.

[3] Sir Thomas Smith, who along with Walsingham had negotiated the treaty, writing to Burghley on February 12, says: "Now, the French being thoroughly occupied, is the best time to do that enterprise which is to be done."—Wright, i. 458.

[4] Fénelon, v. 305.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the besieged, trenches were cut and batteries planted on the south, the west, and the north-west of the fortress, and on the 25th of April the bombardment commenced. Kirkaldy replied vigorously to the fire of the assailants, and knowing well that he had nothing to expect from the clemency of Morton, declared his determination of fighting to the last. But his guns were far inferior to those of the English auxiliaries; and with the slender force under his command, not amounting in all to two hundred men, he could not venture to attack the batteries. For thirty-four days they played incessantly upon the castle walls, at the end of which time the great tower, called after its founder David I., was battered to the ground. By this time, too, the well from which the garrison drew their main supply of water was choked up with rubbish, and a breach had been effected at the "spur," a strong outwork on the castle hill which covered the only entrance to the fortress. Preparations were now made for an assault, and the regent declared his intention of leading his troops in person. Perceiving that further resistance was hopeless, Kirkaldy proposed a truce for two days. His request was granted, and he offered to surrender the castle on condition that he and his friends should be allowed to live unmolested in Scotland, or to retire to France or England if they thought fit; and it appears that to these conditions Drury was willing to agree.[1] But they were peremptorily rejected by Morton, who refused to treat on any other terms than those of immediate and absolute submission. Kirkaldy and his friends well understood the meaning of Morton's mes-

[1] Tytler, vii. 344.

sage, and giving up all hopes of safety, prepared to defend themselves to the last. But the remnant of the garrison, thoroughly convinced of their desperate situation, not only refused to fight any longer, but threatened to hang Maitland over the castle walls if he did not within six hours consent to a surrender. That they should have threatened Maitland instead of their commander, affords another instance of the universal belief entertained of the influence and power exercised by that remarkable man.[1] Even he was now convinced that all was lost; but full of expedients to the last, he suggested, as a means of balking Morton, that they should surrender, not to the regent, but to the English general. Kirkaldy accordingly sent a private message to Sir William Drury, in consequence of which a body of English troops was admitted into the castle on the night of the 29th of May. Grange and his companions now formally surrendered themselves, not to the Scottish regent, but to the Queen of England. In addition to Kirkaldy and Maitland, there were in the castle at this time Lord Hume, Robert Melvill, the brother of Sir James, the Bishop of Dunkeld, and several other persons of note. Thus disappointed of his prey, Morton lost no time in representing to Lord Burghley the extreme danger of restoring to liberty the men who had been so long the chief disturbers of the public peace, and entreating that they should be delivered up to him, that they might be duly punished for their crimes.[2] Killigrew strongly advised the Lord Treasurer to accede to Mor-

[1] Killigrew described Maitland's influence over Kirkaldy as something like enchantment.—Tytler, vii. 342.

[2] Caligula, iv. 85; ibid., 101; Killigrew to Burghley, June 12, 1573.

ton's wishes; and after some delay, Drury received orders from Elizabeth to deliver up his prisoners to Morton, to be dealt with as he might think fit. Her hesitation probably arose from her unwillingness to sign that which she must have well known to be the death-warrant of Lethington. But in her letter to Drury she made no exemption in favour of any of the prisoners, and he reluctantly delivered them all into the regent's hands.[1]

Before her final answer arrived, however, Maitland was dead. From the moment of his surrender he must have known that his doom was sealed; and it was believed[2] that he preferred a voluntary death to the ignominy of a public execution. The most strenuous efforts were made to save the life of Kirkaldy, but he was too formidable an enemy to be spared. He was hanged at the market-cross of Edinburgh on the 3d of August, along with his brother Sir James Kirkaldy, whose wife was reputed to be the paramour of Morton. Several other persons of inferior rank were executed at the same time; but Lord Hume, the Bishop of Dunkeld, Robert Melvill, and other Castilians of note, were eventually set at liberty, upon what terms is not precisely known.[3]

[1] Drury to Burghley, June 18; Record Office.

[2] It was said that he took poison. Melvill says: "He died at Leith, after the old Roman fashion, as was said, to prevent him coming to the shambles with the rest," p. 122. Melvill does not speak at all positively on the subject; and it is remarkable, when we consider the prominent position occupied by Maitland, that we have no distinct evidence as to the manner of his death.—See Tytler, vii. 347; Burton, v. 379. According to Chalmers, iii. 530, Maitland was born in the year 1525, so that he was forty-eight at the time of his death. Maitland left a widow, Mary Fleming—one of the queen's four Marys—but no children.

[3] Tytler, vii. 348, 349.

It was the misfortune of Kirkaldy to live in an age when the minds of men were distracted by religious discord; and it will ever remain a blot on the fame of this gallant soldier that he not only took an active part in the barbarous murder of Cardinal Beaton, but that he was rewarded along with others for the commission of that foul deed. It may perhaps be said, in extenuation of his guilt, that a political, or, if we may use the term, a religious murder in the sixteenth century was regarded as a crime only by the friends and admirers of the victim. The Protestant assassins of Beaton and Riccio were quite as ready to justify their conduct as the Catholic Philip was, a few years later, to justify the murder of the Prince of Orange. Kirkaldy had been from his youth upwards a zealous Protestant; but without abandoning his religion, he abandoned in his latter years the party he had served so faithfully and well for the cause of his deposed and imprisoned queen. It has been said that he fell a victim to her fascinations at Carberry Hill, where she chose to surrender herself to him in preference to any of the nobles present. But this story is contradicted by the fact that, within a twelvemonth afterwards, he fought against her at Langside, where the victory was universally attributed to his military skill. It is far more probable that his final desertion of his old associates was due to the influence and the example of Maitland, who knew better than any man living the true state of the controversy between the queen and her rebellious subjects. Of one thing we may be tolerably certain, that a man of Kirkaldy's chivalrous temper would not have abandoned those with whom he had acted steadily and loyally for thirty years unless

from a profound conviction that his sovereign had been cruelly wronged.[1] Grange was just the man—if we are to believe Melvill, who knew him well—to side with the oppressed, irrespective of his worldly interests; and his heroic defence of the last stronghold of Mary Stewart relieves in some measure the wearisome scenes of treachery and bloodshed of which the history of Scotland at this period consists.

During the month of April, Mary had received intelligence of the death of her uncle the Duke d'Aumale, who had accompanied her to Scotland in 1561. He was killed, to her great grief, at the siege of Rochelle,[2] which was at that time in the possession of the Huguenots. A few weeks later she was informed by her keeper, Shrewsbury, that Edinburgh Castle and its brave defenders were in the hands of her mortal enemies. Shrewsbury even thought fit, by

[1] In Bannatyne's Memorials there is a poem of which the Laird of Grange is said to be the author, in which he assails the enemies of the queen in terms abundantly vigorous, though somewhat unpolished. The following may serve as a specimen :—

"At the Castle of Edinburch
Upon the bank baith greine and rouch
As myne alone I lay,
With paper, pen, and inke in hand,
Musing as I could understand,
Of the suddan decay
That unto this puir natioune
Appeirandly does come:
I fand our Congregatione
Was caus of all, and some
Whois aucthoris, instructoris,
Hes blindit thame so long,
That blameles and schameles
Both riche and poore they wrong.
These wicked, vaine veneniaris,
Proud poysoned Pharisanes,
With thair blind guydis but grace,
Hes caused the puire cuntrie
Assist unto thair traitorie
Thair Prince for to displace:
For teine I can not testifie
How wrangouslie they wrocht
When thai thair Prince so piteouslie
In prisone strong had brocht;
Abused hir, accused hir,
With serpent wordis fell,
Of schavelings and rebellis,
Lyk hiddeous houndis of hell," &c.

[2] "Je suis attainte d'afflictions de tous costès: Dieu par sa grâce me soit en ayde!"—Letter to Fénelon, 11th April 1573; Labanoff, iv. 71. The duke was killed on the 14th March.

way of rendering the news more acceptable, to congratulate her on the event, and told her that she ought to be extremely grateful to Elizabeth for finally defeating and destroying her party in Scotland. Mary describes her keeper on a former occasion as coming to her with "a merry countenance" to say that the Earl of Northumberland had been delivered up.[1] These incidents give us a curious insight into the manners of the age. Although we might not be prepared to look for much refinement in the fourth husband of Bess of Hardwick, we cannot but feel some surprise that a nobleman of his rank and breeding should have thus sought to inflict needless pain upon his helpless prisoner. But Mary was too proud, and too familiar with misfortune, to give way to sorrow in the presence of her keeper. To his evident disappointment, she preserved her self-possession and composure when he exultingly informed her that her last hope in Scotland was extinguished. But he added, by way of consolation to Lord Burghley, that "although she made little show of any grief, he was sure that the news nipped her very sore."[2]

A quantity of the crown jewels which had escaped the rapacity of Murray, had been deposited in Edinburgh Castle. Morton not only seized them, but, to prevent inquiries as to their amount and value, hanged the two officers who had been intrusted with the care of them, and who were both old servants of the queen. Mary complained, through the French ambassador,[3] to

[1] See her letter to the Duke of Norfolk, *ante*, 105.

[2] Shrewsbury to Cecil, 7th June 1573; Record Office.

[3] Speaking of the appropriation of her jewels by Morton, she says:

Elizabeth on the subject, but with the usual result. We shall hear more of the jewels thus appropriated by Morton as our narrative proceeds.

"Il a faict mourir ceux qui les avoient eutre leurs mains et m'en debvoient respondre, ou pour le moins qui pouvoient tesmoignor de ce qu'il y avoit; en quoy se manifeste trop évidemment sa finesse et sa ruse."—Dated 30th November 1573; Labanoff, iv. 90.

CHAPTER XX.

THE REGENCY OF MORTON.

The complete discomfiture of the partisans of Mary proved in one respect advantageous to that unhappy princess. As she ceased to be an object of immediate alarm, the vigilance and severity of her keepers, which had been unremitting since the discovery of Ridolphi's plot, became gradually relaxed. They now discovered that her long and close imprisonment had seriously impaired her health. The combined effect of damp, ill-ventilated rooms, and want of proper exercise, had rendered her subject, among other ailments, to severe attacks of rheumatism, as a remedy for which her physician recommended the baths of Buxton ; and, in a fit of unwonted generosity, Elizabeth allowed her in the autumn of this year to visit that celebrated watering-place.

Although it was late in the season before she reached Buxton—for it had been purposely arranged beforehand that there should be no other visitors at the time of her arrival[1]—the change of air and scene, as well

[1] Burghley writes to Shrewsbury to take care "that for the time she (Mary) shall be there, that all others being strangers from your lordship's company be forbidden to come thither during the time of the queen's abode there."—Lodge, ii. 30.

as the beneficial effects of the spring, wrought a speedy change on the health and spirits of the queen; and she expressed her grateful thanks not only to Elizabeth, but to Burghley and Leicester, for acceding to her wishes.[1] Had she been aware of the purpose for which they had despatched Killigrew to Scotland some months before, her message might have been couched in somewhat different terms.

Shortly before her departure for Buxton, Mary had received a visit from her chancellor, Du Verger, who administered her property in France; and she was even allowed the privilege of conferring with that officer without the presence of her keeper—a favour which she shrewdly suspected was intended to mislead the French Government as to the true nature of her imprisonment.[2] As it was, she took advantage of the presence of her chancellor to renew her request for the services of a priest of her own religion. But upon this point Elizabeth was inexorable. She not only peremptorily refused the request of her sister queen, but she added that she did not believe she was serious in making it, for she had perfect liberty to exercise a much better religion,[3] and with that she ought to be content.

What Elizabeth's real notions of religion were, it is impossible to say. Upon this, as upon most important subjects, she probably never made up her mind. But she had no bigotry in her nature; and when she declared that "she would not dive into consciences," she probably spoke the truth. There was one point only upon which her opinion was unalterably fixed, and that was, that every one should conform, out-

[1] Labanoff, iv. 84. [2] Ibid., 76. [3] Ibid., 95.

wardly at least, to the religion which she herself professed. She did not ask for more; but she would not be satisfied with less—as her cruel persecution both of Papists and Nonconformists subsequently proved.

Mary appears to have derived her notions of religious toleration from her mother; and at a time when no Protestant would enter a Catholic place of worship, she had in Scotland frequently attended the Reformed Kirk, and even listened to the fervid admonitions of Knox. After her arrival in England she had, both at Bolton Castle and at Sheffield, displayed a similar spirit, and had not only listened to the sermons of Anglican divines, but had often discoursed with them in private on religious topics. But the obstinate refusal of her keepers to allow her the exercise of her own religion, and the rude reply of Elizabeth to her last request, induced her finally to abandon her practice of attending the Anglican services. In a letter to Fénelon, she fully explained her reasons for this decision. She said that because she had attended the Protestant services her enemies had alleged that she was not sincere in her religion. But Sir Francis Knollys and Lord Scrope knew that this was a gross calumny, for they had endeavoured to induce her to take what they called the sacrament; but she had never done so, nor had ever even been present when it was administered. She said, further, that while under the charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury she had not only heard a number of different Protestant preachers, but had conversed with them in private, and she never found any two who, on the most cardinal points of the Christian faith, were of the same opinion. Instead, therefore, of converting her to

their religion, they had confirmed her in her own. There were only two things upon which all Protestant preachers agreed—they all abused the Pope, and they all prayed for the queen, which it appeared they were bound by law to do. With these exceptions, there seemed to be amongst them "as many different religions as heads." [1]

From about this time we may observe a gradual change in the religious sentiments of the Scottish queen. We have seen that, on her arrival in Scotland, she had made every effort to conciliate the Reformers. She delegated to them the sole management of public affairs; she allowed them to ruin the chief of the Catholic nobility—the Earl of Huntly; she consented to the establishment of a State provision for the Protestant clergy; and she sought by every means to win the friendship of Elizabeth. On her arrival in England she had evinced a similar spirit; but she had found the Anglican clergy quite as bigoted in their own fashion as the disciples of Knox. Intolerance begets intolerance; and Mary must have been more or less than woman if she could have borne with untiring patience, in addition to her other wrongs and sufferings, the refusal of her keepers to allow her the exercise of her own religion. Need we, then, be astonished that, as years passed away and her hopes of liberty became gradually fainter, she should cling with increasing fervour to the faith of her fathers, and regard with increasing bitterness those who were avowedly seeking its extermination? If Mary finally became a most formidable enemy to Protestantism, we must look for the cause, not to her

[1] Labanoff, iv. 98.

own inclinations, but to the barbarous policy of Cecil. Her imprisonment and outrageous treatment not only impeded the progress of the Reformation in England, but led of necessity to a succession of Catholic conspiracies which kept the kingdom in perpetual alarm. That these results were not foreseen from the first, argues a singular degree of blindness on the part of Burghley and his colleagues; for nothing can be clearer than that every complaint which they made of the dangers incurred through the presence of the Scottish queen in England was simply a confession of their own wickedness and folly.

Mary appears at this time to have laid aside all projects of ambition. In a confidential letter to her ambassador in Paris, she informed him that she now desired nothing but repose and the free exercise of her religion, and that but for the poor Catholics, who had no hope but in her, she would most willingly renounce her crown and everything that she possessed.[1] As it was not in her nature to remain idle, she spent her time chiefly in reading and in needlework, in which it is well known she excelled. It seems to have occurred to her, while thus employed, that some small gift of her own making might not prove unacceptable to Elizabeth. Fénelon was sounded on the subject, and through his friendly intervention various articles of Mary's workmanship were graciously accepted by the English queen. Mary was delighted,[2] and she followed up the experiment

[1] "Je suis en tel estat que je désire avoyr liberté d'aller servir à Dieu en vie privée et quicter tout ce que j'ay, et vous jure mon Dieu que sans la crierie des pauvres catholicques, qui n'ont espoyr qu'en moy, je ne seroys jamais royne ni douairiere."—Labanoff, iv. 180.

[2] "J'ay grandissime satisfaction de ce que me mandés qu'il a pleu a

by sending to her rival occasional presents of millinery and confections, of which she received at this time constant supplies from Paris. In a letter to her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, we find her requesting him to send her a mirror of a particular pattern,[1] which she designed as a gift for her cousin; and she at the same time desired her ambassador in Paris to purchase for her any novelty he might think adapted for this purpose.

By these attentions, which were so well received, Mary no doubt hoped to obtain some indulgence on the part of her keepers. But she probably had a still stronger motive for seeking the favour of Elizabeth at this time. She was still cut off from all communication with her son; and whenever she made inquiries respecting him, Shrewsbury invariably assured her he had no news to tell.[2] To keep her in this state of cruel suspense was a most unnecessary aggravation of her imprisonment. Since the accession of Morton to the regency, her fears for the safety of the prince had been redoubled. It does not appear, however, that any increased facilities were afforded for her gaining tidings of her son, whom she had last seen in his nurse's arms at Stirling Castle, and whom she was never to see again.

While Mary was thus seeking to propitiate her cousin with gifts of needlework and Parisian millinery, Elizabeth was once more quietly plotting the murder of her unsuspecting guest. She had determined, no

la Royne, madame ma bonne sœur avoir mes tablettes pour agréable."—Labanoff, iv. 222.

[1] Labanoff, iv. 56.

[2] "Je suis en grande peyne de n'avoir nulles nouvelles de mon filz, et combien que M. de Cherosbery, quand je luy en demande, me dit tousjours qu'il n'en a poinct."—Mary to Fénelon; Labanoff, iv. 99.

doubt by the advice of Burghley, to renew the negotiations with the Scottish regent which had been broken off by the death of Mar; and Killigrew was once more sent to Scotland to ascertain the terms upon which Morton would perform his part in the much-desired tragedy. No heavier charge can be made against Elizabeth and her ministers than the deliberate revival of this atrocious scheme at this particular time. When it was first proposed, there was something to be said in its extenuation. The massacre of the Protestants in France had just taken place; the whole of Britain was in a state of feverish excitement and alarm, and Mary's partisans in Scotland were still in arms. But the panic had now subsided; Mary's adherents were defeated apparently beyond all hope of recovery; and since the capture of Edinburgh Castle, she had not been accused or suspected of any design even to obtain her liberty. Last, and worst of all, she was on much more cordial terms with her sister queen than at any time since her arrival in England.

As on the former occasion, Mary and her friends were kept in profound ignorance of the conspiracy. She had heard about this time that a wretch named Rolson[1] had undertaken to poison her; and she expressed some alarm lest the Earl of Bedford,[2] whom she regarded as one of her worst enemies, should be appointed her keeper. But her friendly correspondence with Elizabeth, and the greater degree of liberty allowed her by Shrewsbury, with whom, although he

[1] Labanoff, iv. 126. Letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[2] "Homme sans foy et religion, et qui se déclare ouvertement mon ennemy."—Ibid. Bedford was always a zealous Protestant; but that he was, as Mary supposed, her avowed enemy, nowhere appears.

was at times harsh and unfeeling, she considered her life secure, disarmed at this time all suspicion of foul play on the part of the English queen and her ministers.

On reaching Scotland, and sounding the regent upon the "great matter," Killigrew found that since his previous visit a decided change had taken place. Morton was now in absolute possession of the government, his enemies were powerless, and he was no longer dependent on Elizabeth. It is true she had made him regent; but political gratitude, rare in any age, was unknown in this, and he refused to rid her of her rival, except on terms far more exorbitant than those he had demanded two years before. The market had risen so much since his last visit, that Killigrew compared the regent to the Sybil of antiquity.[1] The precise terms required are not known, for some of Killigrew's letters have disappeared; but the conditions were such that he believed his mistress would never sanction them. Under these circumstances he requested to be recalled. But he was desired to remain in Scotland, in the hope that the "great matter" might yet be arranged between him and the regent. Killigrew did his utmost; but it was difficult for the most avaricious of men and the most parsimonious of women to come to terms. Morton seems to have demanded a heavy bribe for himself, and pensions for his friends; while Elizabeth, though at this time willing and apparently eager to take her cousin's life, could not make up her mind to pay the cost. But it is certain that, while thus haggling[2] with Morton for

[1] Killigrew to Walsingham, 12th July; Record Office.

[2] See Mary's letters to Fénelon of 15th August and 14th September; Labanoff, iv. 208, 221.

the price of Mary's blood, she readily accepted whatever presents the Scottish queen chose to send her.

In the course of this year, Mary lost her brother-in-law the King of France, and her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine. The unhappy Charles—as much the victim of his mother's perfidy as Coligni—lamented with his latest breath the Protestant massacre; and the deep remorse which he expressed for the part he had acted in the tragedy, tends much to extenuate his guilt.[1] His brother, the Duke of Anjou, who succeeded him under the title of Henry III., was believed to take a more lively interest in the fortunes of Mary Stewart than any of his family. But upon this, as well as upon other matters, he wholly disappointed public expectation; for his mother speedily acquired over him a degree of influence still greater than that which she had exercised over his brother. She had still another son, the Duke of Alençon, whom Catherine still hoped to see the husband of the Queen of England, although he was but a boy of twenty, and Elizabeth was forty-one.

Shortly after the death of her uncle the cardinal,[2] Mary had the misfortune to lose another of her best friends. In the autumn of 1575, Fénelon, who had resided in England for nearly six years, was recalled, and was succeeded by Castelnau de Mauvissiere, who was believed to be entirely in the interests of the queen-mother, and a strong partisan of the projected English marriage. Mary expressed much distrust of the new ambassador; but she had to acknowledge her

[1] Charles died on the 30th May 1574; see Sismondi, Hist. de Français.

[2] The Cardinal of Lorraine died on the 26th December 1574.

error, for Castelnau eventually did her much good service both in Scotland and in France, although she never appears to have been on the same intimate footing with him as with his predecessor.

About this time a rumour reached England that Bothwell was dead. Mary further learned, from what source we do not know, that before his death he made a formal declaration in presence of the Danish authorities, in which he confessed that he, along with others, had been guilty of Darnley's murder, but that the queen was wholly innocent of that crime. On receiving intelligence of these important facts, Mary immediately desired her ambassador in Paris to send some one to Denmark to ascertain if the statement was true, adding that she would willingly defray all necessary expenses.[1] This, however, for some reason not clearly explained, was not done; and Mary, some months afterwards, stated that she had ascertained that the confession of Bothwell had been transmitted to Elizabeth, and that she had suppressed it.[2] This seems highly probable; for we know that a declaration of some kind was made by Bothwell before his death, and we know that it has disappeared. We know that it was produced as evidence against the Earl of Morton on his trial for the murder of the king some years afterwards; and this fact may throw some light upon a circumstance which has been already mentioned. When Morton was in London in the year 1571, he received a letter from Denmark, which, before showing to Elizabeth, who had expressed a strong desire to see it, he thought proper to falsify.[3] The original might not improbably have contained some allegation of

[1] Labanoff, iv. 334. [2] Ibid., 340. [3] *Ante*, p. 41.

Bothwell against his former accomplice which was concealed from the English queen.

With respect to the suppression of Bothwell's confession by Elizabeth, nothing could be more natural, if, as Mary was led to believe, it contained a declaration of her innocence. It may be said, perhaps, that even if the authenticity of this instrument could be proved, it would be of comparatively little value, for, as a rule, there is no kind of testimony less trustworthy than the confessions of criminals. But it is a strong circumstance in favour of the Scottish queen that she so earnestly desired to bring the document to light. She might have been wholly misinformed as to its real contents; and they must, in any case, have led to fresh investigations. Conscious guilt would have shrunk from all such perils, and have sought to bury in oblivion all matters connected with Darnley's murder.[1]

In this same year a new suitor, of a very different type from Bothwell, appeared for the hand of the Scottish queen. In an age unusually prolific in remarkable men, there was none who, considering the shortness of his career, acquired so great a reputation as Don John of Austria.[2] Destined originally for the Church, the imperial bastard displayed such an invincible aversion to theology that Philip reluctantly allowed him to quit the cloister for the camp. Neither in feature, form, nor character, was there a single point of resemblance between the brothers. The bright blue eye, fair hair,

[1] See Appendix D.

[2] He was born on the 24th of February 1545. His father was the Emperor Charles V., and his mother Barbara Blomberg of Ratisbon, of whom Mr Motley gives an entertaining account in his History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic, iii. 132.

and stalwart frame of Don John betrayed his northern blood; while his insatiable craving for adventure, and lofty spirit, were regarded rather with suspicion than with sympathy by the morose tyrant of the Escurial. But in obedience to his father's wishes, Philip always treated Don John as a member of the imperial family; and the two brothers, though differing so widely in character and temperament, remained throughout their lives, at least to all appearance, on friendly terms.

It was in the wars of Grenada that Don John first became known to fame. But he was soon distinguished on a more conspicuous field; and if, after his great victory at Lepanto, he had sailed directly for the Dardanelles, the Turkish capital must have fallen—perhaps without a blow.[1] But instead of steering to the east, he turned to the south, resolved to carve out a kingdom for himself in Northern Africa. Philip watched the career of the adventurous bastard with mingled pride and jealousy. The kingdom of Tunis, which Don John was labouring to found, appeared to that suspicious monarch somewhat too near his own dominions; and he hailed an opportunity which at this time occurred of employing his brother's restless energies in another quarter. The death of Requesens, who had succeeded Alva in the government of the Netherlands, rendered that important post once more vacant, and throughout all Philip's vast dominions there was no man better fitted for it than Don John. He had every quality to recommend him to popular favour—youth and a handsome person, a most winning address,[2] and

[1] Motley's Dutch Republic, iii. 142.

[2] "Every contemporary chronicler," says Mr Motley—"French, Spanish, Italian, Flemish, Roman—have dwelt upon his personal beauty and the singular fascination of his manner."—Vol. iii. 144.

unrivalled military fame. If the loyalty of the Netherlands to their hereditary sovereigns was not wholly extinguished, it might still be revived by the presence of the hero of Lepanto.

Don John had encountered more difficulties in establishing his African kingdom than he had anticipated, and was not unwilling, on that account, to seek a new field for his ambition. But in accepting the government of the Netherlands he had a secret motive which Philip, with all his boasted skill in kingcraft, did not fathom. If Don John had a weakness, it was his devotion to beauty; and was there not in England at that moment, languishing in prison, the most beautiful princess in the world, and she, too, the rightful heiress of the English crown? Was she not the victim of her tyrannical kinswoman, who was at once a heretic and a usurper? Here, then, was a glorious prize, both for his chivalry and his ambition. He had vanquished the infidels in the East, and he would now reduce to obedience the heretics in the West. He would first restore peace to the Netherlands; he would then transport his victorious legions across the Channel, and, in place of his paltry principality of Tunis, would conquer for himself three kingdoms, with their heiress for his bride. Although we may feel disposed, at this distance of time, to set down the project as a schoolboy's dream, it was not so regarded either by the Pope or by Elizabeth. The one gave his full assent to the scheme; the other was so alarmed at the prospect, that she at length consented to conclude a treaty with the Prince of Orange, by which she engaged to supply him with £100,000 and 5000 troops.[1] She had

[1] But she was to have ample security for the money, and the troops

hitherto aided the insurgents in secret, but she now threw off the mask and prepared openly to espouse their cause. Yet, true to her systematic policy of deception, which had now ceased to deceive even herself, she sent a special envoy to Madrid to assure Philip of her pacific intentions, while she sent another with similar assurances to Don John himself.

On his journey to Brussels, it was necessary for the new viceroy to traverse France; and in that unhappy country the exasperation of the hostile factions showed no symptoms of abatement. The Protestant confederacy at Millaud in the spring of this year had been followed by the establishment of the famous Catholic league, of which the Duke of Guise was the chief promoter, and of which the king eventually placed himself at the head. In the distracted condition of the country, Don John deemed it prudent to travel in disguise, and he reached Paris in the garb of a Moorish slave, attached to the suite of a friend. The Duke of Guise had been apprised of the secret intentions of Don John respecting Mary Stewart; and before quitting France, he had an interview with her kinsman, who seems to have entirely approved of the daring project of the the viceroy.[1] Continuing his journey in the disguise he had assumed, Don John reached Luxembourg on the 3d of November 1576.

Full of his great scheme of invading England and liberating Mary Stewart, Don John made every effort to conciliate the people of the Netherlands; and his rank, his fame, and his fascinating manners, insured

were to be paid by the States.—Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, iii. 209.

[1] Brantome, ii. 137, 138.

him everywhere a most flattering reception. Nor did he disappoint public expectation; for, shortly after his arrival, the States-General placed certain demands before him,[1] and, after some discussion, he assented to them all. On the 17th of February 1577, he signed the treaty named "the perpetual edict," by which he stipulated, among other important matters, that all political prisoners should be set at liberty, and that all Spanish and other foreign troops should, as soon as practicable, quit the Netherlands.[2]

Mary had been apprised of the project of Don John by her ambassador in Paris; and had she been the intriguing and vindictive woman described by her enemies, she must not only have hailed with delight the plan of the invasion, but she would certainly have found the means of opening up a correspondence with her adventurous lover. But no letters ever passed between them; and although gratified, no doubt, by the deep interest with which she had inspired the hero of Lepanto, she expressed herself with hesitation, and even with coldness, on his daring and romantic scheme. She had disapproved eight years before of the northern rebellion, and a foreign invasion was a project still more hazardous.[3] In the mean time, she had learned that the pacific measures of Don John had caused much alarm to Elizabeth's ministers, who were becoming apprehensive of an alliance between France and Spain, and to avert this justly dreaded danger,

[1] "It will be seen that everything required by the envoys of the States at the commencement of their negotiations had been conceded by Don John."—Motley, iii. 164.

[2] Motley, *ubi supra*. "The treaty was confirmed by Philip a few weeks afterwards."—Ibid.

[3] Labanoff, iv. 364.

were straining every nerve to stir up fresh troubles in the Netherlands, and to perpetuate the civil war in France. That Mary described with perfect truth the apprehensions of the English Council, we learn from a letter written about the same time by the Earl of Sussex. It was the profound conviction of that able minister that peace in France and in the Netherlands meant war in England, and that it was only by encouraging insurrection abroad that tranquillity could be preserved at home.[1] Such, indeed, were the inevitable results of the meddling policy of Cecil. It was now too late for his mistress to retire from the dangerous game in which, under his guidance, she had engaged. She was bound to persevere or perish.

Every effort was meanwhile made to ascertain if Don John had any active partisans in England. Against the Scottish queen no evidence could be discovered, but she was removed to Chatsworth as a place of greater security than Sheffield Castle; and although she was allowed to revisit Buxton in the autumn of this year, Leicester—whom she always suspected of some sinister design—was sent to watch her, and to draw from her, if possible, some information respecting the projects of Don John. During his stay at Buxton, Leicester did his utmost to impress upon the Scottish queen that, instead of relying upon foreign princes, she ought to place implicit confidence in the friendship of his mistress. But Mary plainly told the earl that his mistress had deceived her so often that she no

[1] "Of the French actions and Flemish troubles, your lordship, I am assured, is better advertised by Mr Secretary than you can be by me, and therefore I do forbear to trouble you therewith. The troubles of both places, when they have been carried on jointly, have certainly bred our quiet," &c.—Sussex to Burghley, 21st August 1577; Lodge, ii. 87.

longer placed any reliance on mere words.[1] Leicester soon discovered that he had made a fruitless errand; and the only result of his visit to Buxton was to excite the jealousy of Burghley,[2] who seems to have thought that on a mission of such delicacy he ought to have been preferred to his more showy colleague. Walsingham was equally unsuccessful. That minister, unrivalled for his skill in detecting and in hatching plots, had sought for evidence in every quarter against the Scottish queen; but, in spite of all his efforts, nothing was found to connect her in any way with the plan of the invasion.

The conditions of the "Perpetual Edict" had been faithfully fulfilled by Don John. But they did not satisfy the patriotism or the ambition of the Prince of Orange. He not only protested on the part of Holland and Zealand against the treaty, but he secretly recommended that Don John should be kidnapped,[3] and detained a prisoner until the independence of the Netherlands was acknowledged. William the Silent was, in short, disappointed and disconcerted by the readiness of his antagonist to come to terms; for while the Prince desired war, the Viceroy—still full of his secret project of invading England—sincerely wished for peace. Don John made every effort to conciliate his adversary; but his advances were repelled with an obstinacy which galled him to the quick, and he gave vent to his feelings, in language more befitting the deck of his war-galley than the council-chamber,

[1] Labanoff, iv. 371. [2] Ibid., 370.

[3] Motley's Dutch Republic, iii. 199. It is difficult to reconcile this proposal with the much-vaunted integrity of the Prince of Orange. Kidnapping an enemy in the sixteenth century usually meant something more than depriving him of liberty.

against the stiff-necked prince[1] and all his countrymen. Through the artful policy of Orange, the Viceroy soon found himself in a position of very great peril. He had sent away his troops to Italy in accordance with the treaty; while the States, at the instigation of his adversary, were secretly raising fresh levies, and seeking aid from Germany as well as England. Rumours that he was to be made a prisoner or assassinated reached Don John from various quarters; while Spain was distant, and Philip was distressingly slow in all his resolutions. The prospect of so many dangers roused the Viceroy at last to sudden action. Although he could not contend with William the Silent in the crooked paths of diplomacy, there was another field in which he did not fear to meet him. He took possession, by a stratagem, of the impregnable fortress of Namur; he summoned all loyal Belgians to his standard; he despatched messengers to Lombardy to recall his Spanish veterans with all possible speed, and prepared with stern satisfaction for the conflict which his adversary had forced upon him.[2]

Don John was in his element once more. He proclaimed on his banners[3] that he would vanquish the heretics as he had vanquished the Turks, and he speedily fulfilled the prophecy with terrible exactness. The opposing armies met at Gemblours, well matched in point of numbers, for there were on each side about twenty thousand troops;[4] but never, even

[1] As to the epithets he bestowed upon them, see Motley, part v. ch. ii.

[2] Motley, part v. chap. iv.

[3] "In hoc signo vici Turcos in hoc hereticos vincam." These words were surmounted by a crucifix.

[4] The battle took place on the 31st of January 1578.

under the invincible Alva, did the men of the Netherlands suffer so crushing a defeat. In a word, their army was annihilated, while Don John sustained no serious loss. It was a repetition upon land of his glorious triumph at Lepanto. The nephew of the Viceroy, Alexander Farnese,[1] Prince of Parma, who had fought by his side against the Turks, and whose fame as a commander was one day to eclipse even that of his illustrious uncle, took a prominent part in the engagement, and contributed essentially to the victory.

The romantic project of Don John could now no longer be derided as an idle dream. Everything seemed possible to his genius and valour; and the Scottish queen and her victorious champion became for the time the two most interesting personages in Christendom. Elizabeth, justly alarmed, despatched Walsingham on a special mission to the Netherlands to watch the progress of events; and even that wary minister, with all his anti-Papist and anti-Spanish prejudices, was charmed with the frank and manly bearing of the Viceroy. "I never saw," he said, "a gentleman for personage, speech, wit, and entertainment comparable to him."[2] It would almost appear that, although the time had now gone by when kingdoms were won by individual prowess, the politic secretary could not divest himself of the notion that Don John might possibly one day become his sovereign. With respect to Mary's sentiments at this time, we are wholly in the dark. She is singularly reticent on the subject of her self-constituted cham-

[1] The successor of Don John in the government of the Netherlands.

[2] Walsingham to Burghley, August 27; Record Office.

pion; nor do we find in her letters a single expression of exultation at his success. Ever averse to violent measures, we may probably conclude that she could not but regard with apprehension the dangers and the miseries of a foreign invasion of England. At a later period, indeed, she was prepared to sanction even that desperate expedient to regain her long-lost liberty; but for the present she was content apparently to watch the current of events in silence.

Don John had followed up his victory by the capture of various important towns; but experience had already shown that the spirit of the people of the Netherlands was not to be broken by military disasters, however great. They had been long accustomed to defeat; and Don John discovered that, in spite of his successes, the prospect of peace was as distant as ever. Instead of being energetically supported by Philip, he was left entirely to his own resources. He was without allies, and without money to pay his troops. His secretary and dearest friend, Escovedo, whom he had sent to Madrid to represent to Philip the true condition of the Netherlands, was treacherously murdered, with the connivance, if not by the orders, of the king; and this atrocity filled Don John with grief and indignation.[1] Distrusted by his brother, and now an object of detestation to the people whom he had sincerely, though vainly, sought to conciliate, he earnestly begged to be allowed to retire from his post. Don John was not one of those iron-hearted warriors who regard their fellow-men with indifference or contempt. He both loved and courted popularity; but the enthusiastic loyalty which had

[1] See Mignet, Antonio Perez et Philippe II.

greeted his arrival in the Netherlands, was everywhere exchanged for disaffection and defiance. The romantic project of invading England and liberating Mary Stewart, which alone had induced him to accept the government, now seemed absolutely hopeless. His ardent and impetuous nature could ill brook such a succession of disappointments; and, thwarted upon every side, he became a prey to melancholy, and even spoke seriously of imitating the example of his father, and retiring to a monastery.[1] While in this despondent state, an attack of fever—the result, apparently, of mental suffering—laid him on his deathbed. At intervals in his delirium, the expiring hero would recall past scenes of strife and glory, and with brightening eye and glowing cheek, cheer on his steel-clad squadrons, as was his custom in the day of battle. As his end approached the delirium subsided, and he expired tranquilly on the anniversary of that week on which he had won his greatest victory. Thus perished, at the early age of thirty-two, the last of the Crusaders, and the last and most distinguished of all the suitors of Mary Stewart.[2]

It is a curious coincidence, that at the very time when Mary was receiving, through her ambassador in Paris, intelligence of the projects of Don John, she should obtain, through the same channel, information from Scotland of a still more unlooked-for kind. That the Regent Morton should at this time seek a reconciliation with the sovereign he had so grievously wronged, and whose life he had so eagerly sought, seems hardly credible; yet such was undoubtedly the case. The

[1] See his correspondence in Motley, part v. chap. v.

[2] Motley, *ubi supra*. Don John died on the 1st of October 1578.

evidence of this remarkable fact, which is new in Scottish history, we shall briefly lay before the reader.

In the spring of 1577, the Lord Ogilvie, who through all her good and evil fortune had remained a faithful adherent of the queen, had an interview at Edinburgh with the regent. Morton began by expressing his great esteem for the Archbishop of Glasgow, the queen's ambassador in Paris; and then, no doubt to the great surprise of Ogilvie, he launched out in a strain of enthusiastic loyalty towards the queen herself. "He would not do her wrong," he said, "nor consent thereto, for all the wealth in the world. . . . He would rather *serve her and her race than any living creature*, as God was his judge. . . . Further, if he was sure that the queen *would forget and put in oblivion things past*, that he would do all things in his power to restore her to her former estate and favour."[1] He cunningly added a piece of information to which, with his experience of her sex, he thought that even a queen would not be indifferent—namely, that he would be able to restore to her the greater portion of her jewels. Mistrusting, apparently, what he had heard, Lord Ogilvie subsequently conferred with Sir James Balfour on the subject. Balfour, who at this time occupied the highest judicial office in Scotland,[2] assured Ogilvie in the strongest terms that the regent was perfectly sincere in his desire to serve the queen, and that he would be quite content to live under her and her son as a private nobleman. Balfour further urged Lord Ogilvie to communicate the regent's mes-

[1] Lord Ogilvie to the Archbishop of Glasgow, April 1577; see Appendix B.

[2] President of the Court of Session.

sage to the Archbishop of Glasgow without delay, and added that, if that prelate could bring about a reconciliation between his mistress and Morton, he would render an inestimable service to his country. Let us pause for a moment before we trace the further history of this extraordinary negotiation.

We have seen that of all Queen Mary's enemies Morton had been beyond comparison the worst. In all the conspiracies against her he had not only taken a leading part, but he had accused her of the most atrocious crimes, and had produced the forged letters of the casket in proof of the accusation. He had since been the most ruthless persecutor of her friends in Scotland, and had listened eagerly to the scheme of Burghley and Leicester for putting her to death. And yet we find this man professing all at once the most profound loyalty and affection for the sovereign he had deposed and foully slandered, and whom, for a sufficient bribe, he had expressed his readiness to murder.

The change of Morton's attitude towards the queen must be explained by the altered state of public feeling towards himself. After the capture of Edinburgh Castle, Morton found himself in a very different position from any of his predecessors. Murray, Lennox, and Mar were engaged in a perpetual struggle with the adherents of the queen, and were only enabled to hold their ground by the powerful aid of Elizabeth. But after the treaty of Perth, and the death of Maitland and Kirkaldy, Morton remained sole master of Scotland; and the people, wearied of anarchy and bloodshed, quietly submitted to a despotism which was at least preferable to civil war. But Morton, who was at no time a favourite with his countrymen, soon

raised up a host of enemies among all classes of the people. To propitiate Elizabeth, he restored the bishops; but to enrich himself, he deprived them of nearly all their revenues.[1] Ever bent on accumulating wealth, he robbed, under various devices, even the ministers of the Kirk of a considerable portion of their slender stipends.[2] He debased the coin of the realm,[3] and he taxed the merchants by obliging them to pay a licence for liberty to trade with foreign countries.[4] He made a mockery of justice by hearing and deciding suits to which he himself was a party;[5] and with such men on the bench as Sir James Balfour and Archibald Douglas, both his accomplices in the murder of Darnley, the courts of law became mere engines for the plunder of the rich and the ruin of the poor. Nor was it of his tyranny and avarice alone that the people complained. Although his language was always that of a devout Reformer, he was, like the Puritanical Leicester, notoriously profligate in private life;[6] and

[1] Tytler, vii. 337.

[2] Robertson, b. vi. 372.

[3] Robertson, ibid., and note.

[4] Tytler, viii. 5.

[5] Historie of King James the Sext, 259.

[6] On the 15th of February 1574, Fénelon writes: "Les choses semblent être en paix en Ecosse sous la prétendue regence de Morton, bien que j'aie avis qu'il s'y déporte en homme avare, violent et dissolu; et de tous les principaux de la noblesse, il n'a pres de lui a cette heure, qu'un seul milord dant il entretient la femme, et en entretien encore deux ou trois autres mariées, au grand scandale d'un chacun;' t. iv. 32. Morton was never married, but he had several illegitimate sons; and with reference to them the following entries are to be found in the "Registry of Presentations," preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh:—

"Confirmation of pension, by William Bishop of Aberdeen, of £500, to Archibald Douglas, son natural of the regent."—Dated 14th April 1574.

"Confirmation of pension, by Henry Commendator of Balmerino, of £500, to James Douglas, son natural of the regent."—Dated 26th December 1576.

"Confirmation of pension, by Robert Bishop of Caithness, of £500, to

it was not a fortunate circumstance for the reputation of the new creed that two such men should at this time have been its most prominent supporters in Great Britain.

Notwithstanding his great unpopularity, Morton held his ground for several years; but all his efforts failed to extinguish the loyalty which was still entertained by a large section of the people towards the queen, and who could not fail to contrast her mild rule with the corrupt tyranny of the regent. His experienced eye saw clearly that his power was waning; he knew that he had made innumerable enemies, and that an effort would be made to overthrow him as soon as they acquired sufficient strength. Upon Elizabeth he knew that no reliance could be placed in the hour of need; and to shield him from the storm which he saw approaching, and to enable him to preserve the immense wealth he had accumulated, he resolved to seek the aid of the sovereign he had betrayed. Maitland had gone over to her side in the belief that the tide was turning in her favour. Was Morton of the same opinion now when he thus made proffer of his services, and begged her "to forget the past"? It is impossible to answer the question with certainty; but if he was not sincere, it is difficult to see what motive he could have had in making such advances at this time to the queen.

Lord Ogilvie, in accordance with the advice of Balfour, lost no time in acquainting the Archbishop of Glasgow with the overtures of Morton; but many weeks elapsed before intelligence of the fact reached

George Douglas, son natural to the regent."—Dated 26th December 1576.

Mary at Sheffield Castle. At first she seems to have regarded the proposals of the regent with strong suspicion, and even conjectured that Walsingham might have some hand in the matter. But, upon second thoughts, she deemed it not improbable that Morton, conscious of the wicked part he had acted towards her, and dreading the prospective vengeance of her son, might seek to shield himself against the consequences of his misdeeds. Yet she instinctively recoiled from all correspondence with a man whom she could not but regard with abhorrence; and all circumstances considered, she simply desired her ambassador in Paris to take, for the present, no notice of the matter further than to thank Lord Ogilvie in her name for the zeal he had all along exhibited in her service.[1]

The question naturally arises, If Morton had been himself conscious of innocence, and convinced of the charges he had made against the queen, would he at this time have begged her to forget "the past," and made so pressing an offer of his services? Would she on the other hand, if conscious of guilt, have hesitated for a moment to accept them? But assuming that Morton was guilty and the queen was innocent, nothing could be more natural than the conduct of both. He sought to win back her favour to screen him from the vengeance of his enemies; and she, though a helpless prisoner, pining for liberty and ready to make the greatest sacrifices to obtain it, shrank from the proffered friendship of the man who, in spite of his fine words, she knew to be the most unscrupulous of all her enemies.

[1] Labanoff, iv. 384, 385.

The storm which Morton had seen for some time gathering, broke out at last in the shape of a conspiracy, of which the Earls of Atholl and Argyll[1] were the chiefs. Atholl, who was a Stewart, and a kinsman of Darnley, had never been on friendly terms with the regent, and between Argyll and Morton a dispute had arisen of a very acrimonious kind. Argyll had married the widow of the Regent Murray; and we have seen that, in spite of the queen's remonstrances,[2] that lady had kept possession of the royal jewels, of which, by a flagrant breach of trust,[3] her husband had obtained possession. But the Regent Morton had quite as keen an eye for plunder as his predecessor; and, although the countess had been allowed to keep the jewels during the regencies of Lennox and Mar, Morton now claimed them as the property of the Crown. After an angry correspondence they were delivered up, but not until after Argyll had been threatened with arrest.[3] Accompanied by Atholl he shortly afterwards repaired to Stirling in the absence of Morton, and, after complaining of his tyranny and extortions, besought the young king—who was now in his twelfth year—to summon a Parliament for the purpose of depriving the regent of his authority. They had gained over the king's tutor, George Buchanan,[4] who now turned against his patron Morton, as he had formerly turned against the queen; and the regent, perceiving that he was unable for the present to make head against his enemies, forthwith resigned his office and retired to the island stronghold of Lochleven. In this retreat he betook himself to gardening and fishing

[1] Tytler, viii. 20. [2] *Ante*, vol. i. 514.
[3] *Ante*, vol. i. 376. [4] Tytler, viii. 23. [5] Ibid., viii. 27.

—happy, to all appearance, to be relieved from the cares and the turmoil of public life.[1]

But those peaceful occupations, which were only intended to deceive his enemies, were speedily abandoned. On his resignation of the regency, twelve noblemen had been named as a permanent council to the king. Atholl was shortly afterwards appointed Chancellor,[2] and he and Argyll assumed the chief direction of affairs. But during their absence in Edinburgh, Morton suddenly made his appearance in Stirling, and with the connivance of the young Earl of Mar—who had married his niece[3]—made a prisoner of the king, and, summoning to his aid his nephew the Earl of Angus and the numerous vassals of the house of Douglas, prepared to meet his adversaries in the field. Atholl and Argyll assembled their followers with equal speed; and the opposing armies, numbering from six to seven thousand men on each side, met at Falkirk on the 13th of August. There had already been some skirmishing in front, when the English ambassador, Sir Robert Bowes, who had been sent by Elizabeth to watch the progress of events, and to protect Morton as far as was practicable, persuaded the leaders upon both sides to consent to a truce.[4] The result was a reconciliation, which redoubled the rancour of the rival chiefs; and within a few months, Atholl, the Chancellor, after partaking of an entertainment given by Morton, died of poison.[5] As Atholl

[1] Spottiswoode, ii. 222; Melvill, Memoirs, 126.

[2] He succeeded Lord Glammis, who had been killed in a fray between his retainers and those of the Earl of Crawford.—Tytler, viii. 29.

[3] A sister of the Earl of Angus.

[4] See letter of Lord Hunsdon to Burghley, August 19, 1578, in Appendix to Tytler, viii., No. 2.

[5] Atholl died at Kincardine Castle, a seat of the Earl of Montrose, on

had notoriously taken the most prominent part in the movement which led to the overthrow of Morton, suspicion naturally lighted upon him. But in the absence of direct proof, he soon regained his former ascendancy. He did not seek to be restored to the regency, but was apparently contented to take his place as one of the twelve councillors of the king. But the veteran intriguer, by bribes or threats, was ever able to bend his colleagues to his will; and the first use he made of his restored authority was to wreak his vengeance on the Hamiltons.

The Duke of Chatelherault was now dead; his eldest son, the Earl of Arran, the once favoured suitor of Elizabeth, was hopelessly insane; and the family was at this time represented by his two younger brothers —the Lords John and Claud Hamilton. Lord John, as representing his father and his brothers, had signed the treaty of Perth, by which their lands were secured against forfeiture. But, in deliberate breach of this convention, which was now upwards of six years old, Morton proceeded to seize their estates, the most valuable of which adjoined the possessions of his nephew, the Earl of Angus, in Clydesdale. The castle of Hamilton was attacked and taken by Morton, and its chief defenders put to death. Draffen, another stronghold of the family, to which the Duchess of Chatelherault had fled for refuge with the unfortunate Arran, was afterwards besieged and taken, and both mother and son treated with great barbarity. Lord John, after witnessing the ruin of his house, made his escape

the 25th April 1579. A *post-mortem* examination of the body clearly proved that he had been poisoned; but no evidence was as yet discovered as to the perpetrator of the crime.—See Tytler, viii., Appendix No. 4.

with difficulty to Flanders; and Lord Claud fled to England, and sought the protection of Elizabeth.[1] It must be admitted that she was in general culpably indifferent to human suffering. Imbued with all the prejudices of her age and station, her sympathies could only be touched by the misfortunes of the great. The Hamiltons, though not of royal rank, were, after Mary and her son, next in succession to the Scottish crown. Elizabeth had been at one time recommended by her chief minister to ally herself to the representative of this house,[2] and she perhaps regarded its overthrow by Morton in some sense as a slight upon herself. But whether actuated by this or by more worthy motives, she certainly disapproved in this instance of his tyranny and cruelty; and she even sent a special envoy to Scotland[3] to intercede on behalf of the Duchess of Chatelherault and her unhappy son. Morton turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the English queen. Nor is it easy to explain why he should have displayed, at this time, so rancorous a spirit against the Hamiltons, unless the rejection of his advances by Mary led him to vent his wrath and disappointment on her most prominent supporters in Scotland.

Considering his treachery and violence, and the unruly nature of his countrymen, Morton maintained his ascendancy in Scotland much longer than might have been expected; but retribution came at last, and from a very unexpected quarter.

[1] Tytler, viii. 45, 46, and the authorities there cited. According to Spottiswoode, ii. 264, Lord John travelled through a great part of England on foot, disguised as a sailor, before he went abroad.

[2] See *ante*, vol. i. 56.

[3] Nicholas Arrington. See his letter to Burghley, printed in Tytler, viii., Appendix 3.

In the autumn of 1579, there arrived in Edinburgh a young stranger[1] of high rank, who was received with every mark of favour at the Scottish court. He was a nephew of the Regent Lennox, and had been born and bred in France, where one of his ancestors had been created Lord of Aubigny,[2] on account of his distinguished military services in the reign of Charles VIII. Esmé Stewart, who at this time bore the title, had repaired to Scotland professedly to recover the Lennox estates, which, by the rules of descent, belonged to his cousin, the young king. But James, whose strong propensity to favouritism had already begun to exhibit itself, displayed excessive partiality for his kinsman, and as soon as the necessary formalities could be completed, bestowed upon him both the lands and the earldom of Lennox, together with the custody of Dumbarton Castle, which was situated in the district of that name. The favours thus showered upon the young stranger naturally aroused the jealousy of Morton and his friends; and it was soon whispered abroad that Aubigny was an emissary of the Jesuits and the Princes of Lorraine, and that he had been sent to Scotland for the purpose of subverting the true religion, and of reviving the old alliance with France. That these rumours were substantially true, we have every reason to believe; for although, to silence his enemies,[3] Aubigny took the extraordinary step of publicly renouncing the Catholic faith and declaring himself a convert to Protestantism, we know that he

[1] Mr Froude says that he was only twenty-three; vol. xi. 266. But he must have been older, for he had at this time a son ten years old.

[2] He commanded a French army in Calabria in 1493. See Guicciardini, vol. i. 290, who calls him "Obigni."

[3] Bowes to Burghley and Walsingham.—Cotton MSS., Calig. c. vi. 31.

subsequently became the acknowledged agent of the King of Spain and the Duke of Guise, and did his utmost to promote their ambitious designs upon Britain.

The presence of Aubigny at the Scottish court was regarded with much uneasiness by Elizabeth, and Sir Robert Bowes was sent to Edinburgh to reconnoitre and report. The chief duty of watching the politics of Scotland devolved, at this time, upon Walsingham, who, with all the industry and vigilance of Burghley, was much more prompt and vigorous in action, and still less scrupulous in the execution of his designs. This energetic minister quickly made up his mind as to the mode of dealing with Aubigny. He believed, or professed to believe, that the Frenchified Scot was the enemy of England, and that the only safe policy of Elizabeth was to support Morton against him. Bowes was specially instructed to gain over the clergy; but to their infinite credit, in this most corrupt age, only one of them [1] could be induced to accept a bribe. As a body, these men had many faults, but avarice was not one of them; and, impoverished though they had been by the rapacity of Morton, the independence they displayed on this occasion affords a striking and instructive contrast to the insatiable greed of their noble patrons. There was another man in Scotland whom Bowes found to be incorruptible, and whose name, on that account, deserves to be remembered. Peter Young, who, jointly with Buchanan, had been employed as preceptor of the prince, rejected all the offers of the Eng-

1 "Mr Peter Young, the king's tutor, or any of the ministry (except one in the king's house, and a reader) *will not receive anything, by any means I can use;* and nevertheless they have been, and are, good instruments to advance the best effects in their power," &c.—Bowes to Walsingham, 3d June 1580; Bowes' Correspondence, 78.

lish envoy.[1] That Buchanan ever refused a bribe no one has asserted.

But it was on Morton that Bowes mainly relied for effecting the purpose he had in view; and the ex-regent was quite prepared, for an adequate consideration, to adopt any scheme for the overthrow of Lennox. Though hated by the mass of the nobility, as well as by the people, Morton could still, through his numerous kinsmen of the house of Douglas, command a powerful body of adherents; and after some months of secret negotiation, the plan of operations was finally agreed upon.

Walsingham was all along prepared to take the most decided measures. Elizabeth was irresolute, as usual; but she at length—and, we may presume, with much misgiving—allowed her secretary to sanction in her name a plot for the assassination of Lennox[2] and the imprisonment of the young king. But no sooner had Walsingham overcome her scruples than she began to

[1] Bowes' Correspondence; Ibid.

[2] Walsingham desires Bowes, in the name of their mistress, to "confer with the Earl of Morton, and other the enemies to the Earl of Lennox, how this matter may be helped either *by laying violent hands on the said earl* and his principal associates, in case no other more temperate course may be found for the remedy thereof, or by some other way that by him shall be thought meet, wherein her majesty willeth you to assure them that they shall not lack any assistance she can give them."—August 31, 1580; Bowes' Correspondence, p. 111.

On the following day Walsingham informs Bowes that her majesty has changed her mind, and he is therefore "to forbear to enter into conference with any of them of any force to be used, or promise of assistance from her majesty, until such time as she shall be advertised by you from thence of the necessity thereof," &c.—September 1, 1580, p. 111.

Walsingham adds in "a postscript:" "You may perceive by this last resolution, in revoking some part of the former direction, how uncertain we are in the course of our doings." And he concludes with this caution to Bowes: "Be not hasty to promise much from hence, for we take no care to perform."—Ibid., p. 112.

tremble for the consequences; and on the very next day, to his infinite disappointment, she recalled the order, and desired Bowes to proceed by way of "persuasion," instead of resorting to violence. But that Elizabeth thus suddenly changed her mind, a repetition of the Riccio tragedy must in all probability have been the result.

There was, in fact, a striking resemblance between the plots, but with this distinction, that the conspiracy against Riccio was watched with silent approval by Elizabeth and her ministers, while they deliberately planned and instigated the destruction of Aubigny. There were other points of similarity between the plots. Both Riccio and Aubigny were foreigners; both were supposed to represent the Papal power and policy in Scotland; the leading conspirator against both was the Earl of Morton, and after his victims were disposed of, it was in each case intended to make a prisoner of the sovereign. There was a still further resemblance between the two conspiracies, for both were defeated—the one by the courage of Mary, and the other by the vacillation of Elizabeth.

But her ministers were still resolved upon the overthrow of Lennox; and as she would not sanction assassination, it became necessary to adopt another course. Bowes was accordingly instructed to seek an interview with the young king and his Council, and to represent to them in the strongest language that the presence of Lennox in Scotland was fraught with imminent danger to both kingdoms. The English envoy was informed, in reply, that the king and his Council were prepared to hear any charges he had to make against Aubigny. But Bowes, to the surprise of every one, explained

that he could only make his accusations in the absence of Lennox. We may conclude from this circumstance that his enemies possessed no proofs of his alleged complicity with the Jesuits; and the extraordinary and offensive nature of the demand led to some sharp correspondence between the English envoy and the Council. The former declared that his instructions were peremptory; the latter finally decided that his request, being contrary to all precedent, and opposed to the first principles of justice, could on no account be complied with.[1] On receiving this reply, Bowes, in accordance with his instructions, quitted Scotland.[2]

The position of Morton now became precarious in the extreme. His intrigues with Bowes had been discovered; and Bowes, apparently by the instructions of his mistress, had left him to his fate. His enemies had in their hands abundant evidence to convict him of his treasonable designs against the king. But they preferred to proceed against him on a still graver charge—namely, the murder of the king's father at the Kirk-of-Field, a crime of which Morton had been all along suspected, but of which fresh proofs had recently come to light.

That the murderers of Darnley should eventually fall out among themselves, and each accuse his accomplices of the crime, was naturally to be expected. We find, accordingly, that Sir James Balfour, who was at this time in France, had become the mortal enemy of the ex-regent, in the belief, no doubt, that by contributing to the fall of his old accomplice he would

[1] Bowes to Lord Burghley, 13th Sept. 1580; Bowes' Correspondence, p. 116.

[2] Ibid., same to same, of 18th Oct., p. 145.

best provide for his own security. It was known that Balfour had prepared the band for the murder of the king. It was believed that the document was still in existence;[1] but as it was not produced, we may probably assume that this was not the case.[2] But Balfour could in many other ways afford essential service to the enemies of Morton, and this he no doubt did to the utmost of his power.

Morton perceived clearly enough the danger in which he stood; and even before the departure of Bowes from Scotland, it was whispered that the ex-regent was about to retire to Germany on the plea of ill health, and to carry with him the enormous fortune he had amassed by the plunder of his country. The Regent Murray had died the richest man in Scotland, but his wealth did not nearly equal that of Morton, who was said to have accumulated bullion to the amount of five or six hundred thousand crowns.[3] The difficulty of sending abroad such an amount of treasure may have induced him to abandon his scheme of leaving Scotland. It is probable that the most avaricious of men preferred to brave the vengeance of his enemies to the loss of that wealth which he had acquired by innumerable crimes.

There was at this time at the Scottish court a young man named James Stewart, who undertook

[1] Queen Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow; Labanoff, v. 189. See also a letter from Randolph to Lords Hunsdon and Huntingdon, dated 16th March 1581, in which he says: "I spoke again of the *band in the green box*, containing the names of all the chief persons consenting to the king's murder, which Sir James either hath or can tell of."—Printed in Tytler, Appendix to vol. viii., No. 7.

[2] According to Drury, it was destroyed by Maitland.—See Tytler, vii. 168.

[3] Castelnau to the King of France; Teulet, iii. 66.

the perilous task of accusing Morton of the murder of the king. Stewart, who was a younger son of Lord Ochiltree, and consequently a brother-in-law of Knox, had served as a soldier of fortune in France, in Denmark, and even in Russia,[1] and was known to be a man of a resolute and daring spirit. He subsequently became conspicuous for other qualities, and acted a very prominent part in Scottish history. At the present time, though in high favour both with Lennox and the king, he only held the post of captain in the royal guard; but the result showed that the enemies of Morton had selected an instrument in all respects well fitted to their purpose.

On the last day of the year, a Council was held at Holyrood in presence of the king. Morton, though recently warned of his danger, had taken his seat as usual, when Captain Stewart requested an immediate audience. On being admitted to the Council-chamber, he fell on his knees before the king, declaring that his duty to his sovereign had brought him thither to reveal a crime that had been too long concealed; then pointing to Morton, he formally accused him of the murder of the king's father, and demanded that he should be forthwith arrested.

Courage was the one redeeming quality of Morton, and to the startling charge of Stewart he replied with contemptuous composure. He said he knew not whose tool his accuser was, and though he might well decline to notice a charge preferred by one so mean in station, he was quite prepared to answer it. It was notorious, he continued, that he had punished

[1] See letter of Sir Edward Hoby to Lord Burghley, Aug. 15, 1584; Record Office and Melvill's Memoirs.

with the utmost rigour every one guilty of Darnley's death. "It is false," retorted Stewart, fiercely. "Where have you placed your cousin Archibald Douglas? Does not that most infamous of men now pollute the bench of justice with his presence, instead of suffering the penalty due to the murderer of his sovereign?"[1]

Stewart sprang to his feet as he uttered these words, and Morton grasped his sword. A personal encounter must have taken place in the Council-chamber had not Lords Lindsay and Cathcart thrown themselves between the antagonists, and both were immediately removed. The justice-clerk, who was present, then declared that on a charge of treason the accused must be committed to prison forthwith; and Morton, after a short detention in Edinburgh, was conveyed under a strong escort to Dumbarton Castle, of which his enemy Lennox was the governor. Immediately after the scene in the Council-chamber, an order was issued for the arrest of Archibald Douglas; but, more fortunate than his kinsman, he eluded the vengeance of his enemies by a hasty flight to England.[2]

An interval of five months elapsed between the arrest and the trial of Morton, during which time the people of Scotland evinced the most profound indifference to his fate. But it was far different in England. To support Morton at all hazards had long been a fixed maxim of policy with the English Council, and an agent more active and unscrupulous than Bowes was despatched to Edinburgh, to effect, if possible, the liberation of the ex-regent, or at all events to save his life. On arriving in Edinburgh, Randolph, who was

[1] Spottiswoode, ii. 271.

[2] Tytler, viii. 70.

selected for the purpose, had an interview with the young king, and by alternate flattery and threats sought to convince him of the dangerous projects of Lennox. But James, with becoming spirit, replied that Lennox was his nearest kinsman, and that the charges which Randolph had been instructed to make against him were false and slanderous. As for Morton, he had been accused in the most public manner of the murder of his sovereign; and for that crime he should have been brought immediately to trial but for the absence of a most material witness, Archibald Douglas, who had fled to England, and whom the English queen refused to deliver up.[1]

Elizabeth, meanwhile, spoke in lofty tones of her determination to save Morton at all risks; and Walsingham declared that if a hair of the ex-regent's head were touched, it would cost the Queen of Scots her life.[2] Lord Hunsdon, Leicester, and even the wary Burghley, expressed themselves in language no less strong; and the Earl of Huntingdon, with a considerable force, was ordered to approach the Borders. But the threat of an English invasion added immensely to the influence of Lennox and his friends. Nobles, commons, and clergy were all united in their determination to maintain the independence of their country against their ancient enemies; and a Parliament was summoned to vote the necessary supplies for the war which seemed inevitable.[3]

We have already mentioned[4] that in Scotland the representatives of the three Estates all sat in one

[1] Record Office; King of Scots' answer to Mr Randolph, Feb. 7, 1581.
[2] Ibid.; Walsingham to Randolph, Feb. 9, 1581.
[3] Tytler, viii. 74.
[4] *Ante*, vol. i. 3.

chamber; and having failed to move the king, Randolph now appeared before this assembly, and, after the manner of ambassadors among the nations of antiquity, made a formal harangue in favour of the Earl of Morton. The representative of Elizabeth reminded his audience of the many benefits which his mistress had conferred upon Scotland, in return for all which she had never sought a foot of territory. He then denounced Lennox as an emissary of the Pope, and he produced some intercepted letters, as he alleged, from the Bishop of Ross, in proof of the charge. Lennox, who was present, indignantly declared that the letters produced were forged. For two hours, notwithstanding this interruption, Randolph laboured to convince the Parliament of the friendly intentions of his mistress, and of the necessity of sparing Morton. But the character of the ex-regent was now too well known in Scotland to inspire confidence in any one, and the supplies that were deemed necessary for the war were voted without a dissentient voice.[1]

Baffled in his attempts both upon the king and the Parliament, Randolph did not despair of success. He was authorised, if persuasion failed, to resort to force; in other words, to revive the scheme of Walsingham for making away with Lennox, imprisoning the king, and restoring Morton to liberty and power. To this wicked plot Elizabeth had at length been induced to give her sanction, and Randolph was soon immersed in the congenial work of collecting conspirators for the "surprise" of Lennox and the capture of the king.[2]

[1] Record Office; Randolph's negotiations in Scotland.

[2] Memorial for Secret Objects; Caligula, c. vi. 104, 106.

It is worthy of note that there was one English nobleman of the highest rank who protested, in the most emphatic terms, against the treacherous scheme of Walsingham. The Earl of Huntingdon, at this time president of the Council of the north, although a determined enemy of the Papists, pronounced the conspiracy against Lennox to be neither more nor less than "murder."[1]

Meanwhile Randolph discovered that the enterprise in which he had embarked was one of exceeding danger. There were only two of the leading nobles upon whom he could rely, Angus and Mar—the one related by blood, the other by marriage, to Morton. The great majority of the nobility—Protestant as well as Catholic—were declared partisans of Lennox ; for, strange to say, the rise of the favourite inspired no jealousy except in Morton and his friends. But the conspirators, spurred on by Randolph, finally decided that Lennox, along with Argyll and Montrose, should be murdered, and that the young king should be sent to England under the care of Lord Hunsdon, who had a force in readiness to receive the prince as soon as the plot was executed. But the unexpected arrest of Douglas of Whittingham brought the whole affair to light. This man, under whose roof it is said that the plan for Darnley's murder had been arranged, confessed that his brother, the notorious Archibald Douglas, had forged the letters[2] which were alleged to have been written by the Bishop of Ross to Lennox, and which were produced by Randolph in the Scottish Parliament. Other witnesses gave evi-

[1] Huntingdon to Randolph ; Record Office, March 21, 1581.

[2] See proofs and illustrations, Nos. 6 and 7, appended to Tytler, viii.

dence of the complicity of the English envoy; and such was the indignation excited against him, that a shot was fired at him one evening through the window of his lodgings.[1] Randolph took the hint, and for the third time in his diplomatic career was compelled to make a hasty retreat to Berwick, in consequence of the discovery of his scandalous intrigues.

That he had produced forged letters for the purpose of effecting the ruin of Lennox, and that the forger was Archibald Douglas, are facts beyond dispute; for they are admitted by Sir Robert Bowes in a letter to Walsingham.[2] This incident not only serves to illustrate the political morality of the age, but it may lead us to suspect that Archibald Douglas was concerned in a still more notorious forgery. We know that he was one of Darnley's murderers; and if he could forge letters from the Archbishop of Glasgow to Lennox, might he not have forged, or helped to forge, the letters of Queen Mary to Bothwell? To come to any positive conclusion upon such evidence would be absurd. But we have here an acknowledged adept in the art of forgery who was also one of Darnley's murderers, and who, we may assume, was ready, if occasion offered, to avert suspicion from himself and his accomplices by accusing others of the crime.

The discredit which Randolph had brought on the diplomacy of Elizabeth probably now induced her to

[1] Randolph to Walsingham; Record Office, 25th March 1581.

[2] "I am done to understand that Whityngham, amonges many other matters, hath affirmed that Mr Archibald Douglas, his brother, had devised, and with his owen hande drawen, the letter and effectes lately alledged by Mr Randolphe before the kynge, and caused to have been sent by the Bishope of Glasgoe to the Pope, and which was afterwards intercepted and brought to her majestie," &c.—Bowes' Papers, 174; 25th March, 1581. See also letter from Lord Ogilvie, Appendix B.

refrain from further interference on behalf of Morton. His accusers proceeded to collect the necessary evidence against him; and while they were thus engaged, fresh and important facts were brought to light. He had all along been strongly suspected of the murder of the Earl of Atholl, and it was at this time ascertained that the person who had been employed to purchase the poison had fled to France. From the fact that a safe-conduct was sent to this man to induce him to return to Scotland, with a promise that no evidence which he might give should be used against him, we may conclude that it was the intention of Morton's enemies to charge him with the murder of Atholl, as well as with that of the king.[1] But, from some unexplained cause, this material witness did not return to Scotland, at least in time for Morton's trial, and it was determined to arraign the ex-regent solely on the charge of treason.

The prodigality with which the Stewarts bestowed their favours contrasted strongly with the parsimony of the Tudors. The rise of Lennox to wealth and power had been singularly rapid; but the rise of his namesake, Captain Stewart, was more rapid still. The latter, being a younger son, was without either feudal rank or fortune; but the courage and address he had displayed in accusing Morton received a speedy and splendid reward. The unfortunate Arran having died about this time, very probably through the barbarous treatment to which he was subjected, Stewart immediately received a grant of that ancient earldom.[2] He at the same time obtained a commission to proceed to Dumbarton Castle, and to bring Morton to Edin-

[1] See the letter of Lennox, Appendix B. [2] Spottiswoode, ii. 276.

burgh, where it was arranged that his trial should take place.[1]

Morton had borne his reverse of fortune with dignity and resignation. In his prison on Dumbarton rock he had spent his time chiefly in reading the Scriptures, and he spoke with becoming sorrow and contrition of his past misdeeds. His trial and confession have already been referred to in a former part of this work,[2] but we may add that he solemnly denied that he was guilty of the poisoning of Atholl. He denied that he had ever meditated treason against the prince; and he declared, before mounting the scaffold, that if he had served his God as faithfully as he had served his king, he should never have been brought to such a pass.[3]

That Morton possessed great abilities is not to be disputed; nor can it be denied that the corrupt tyranny which he established in Scotland was far preferable to the anarchy which previously prevailed. In spite of his exactions the country prospered, for it was at peace. During his regency, and even till the time of his death, the people were not distracted either by foreign or internal war; and the progress

[1] Spottiswoode, ii. 276.

[2] Vol. i. 261.

[3] The words of Morton, according to a contemporary chronicler, were as follows: "Gif I had bene als cairfull to serve my God and walk in His feir, as I was to see the kingis weill, I had nocht bene brocht to this poynt that I am at this day."—Bannatyne, Memorials, 320. It is curious that Ruthven, who, like his friend the ex-regent, ended his days on a scaffold three years afterwards, expressed himself in nearly similar terms: "If he had been as careful to advance God's glory, as he was towards the king's estate, he had not suffered that day."—Bannatyne, Miscellany, i. 103. The sentiment expressed by both is identical with that which George Cavendish, in his Life of Wolsey, has put into the mouth of the dying cardinal, and which Shakespeare has immortalised.

which they made in this interval excited the surprise, and perhaps the jealousy, of their southern neighbours.[1] But for these results no credit can attach to Morton; for if the country prospered, it was not in consequence, but in spite of his absurd restrictions upon its commerce, his tampering with the coin,[2] and his iniquitous interference with the administration of the law. It has been said in his praise that, from first to last, he was steadfast to the English alliance;[3] but his secret overtures to Mary may convince us that private interest was his only guide on this as on every other occasion throughout his long and stormy career.

Upon hearing of the arrest of Morton, Mary was filled with apprehension respecting her son, whom she said she valued more than "a hundred kingdoms of Scotland."[4] She was fully impressed with the belief that Elizabeth would send an army to Scotland for the rescue of the ex-regent, and that in the struggle which must ensue the prince would be exposed to imminent danger. She therefore desired her ambassador in Paris to take immediate steps for having him, if possible, removed to France. She further complained, with pardonable bitterness, of the interest which Elizabeth took in the fate of a notorious murderer; while she secretly accused her and the

[1] See letters of Killigrew to Walsingham of 18th, 23d, and 24th June 1574; Record Office.

[2] According to Robertson, ii. 371, note, "Morton mixed a fourth part of alloy with every pound of silver, and sunk by consequence the value of coin in proportion. In the year 1581 all the money coined by him was called in, and appointed to be recoined: the standard was restored to the same purity as formerly."

[3] "His one virtue was his fidelity to England."—Froude, xi. 292.

[4] Mary Stewart to the Archbishop of Glasgow; Labanoff, v. 189.

Hamiltons of a crime of which she well knew they were wholly innocent.[1]

Walsingham had boasted that the sacrifice of Morton would cost the Queen of Scots her head; and it appears that this was not an idle threat. After the death of the ex-regent, Elizabeth and her ministers held various consultations as to the disposal of the Scottish queen. That Burghley and a majority of his colleagues would have readily consented to her death at this time, and that they took advantage of the alarm and irritation of their mistress to urge upon her the necessity of taking decided steps against her prisoner, we have abundant proof. But although justly alarmed at the threatening aspect of affairs both in Scotland and abroad, Elizabeth could not make up her mind to act on the advice of her ministers. She hesitated, as usual, from day to day; and the Council finally broke up without coming to any definite conclusion.[2]

[1] Mary Stewart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 12th January; Labanoff, v. 189. There is not the slightest proof that the Hamiltons were concerned in Darnley's murder, beyond the assertion of Buchanan.

[2] We learn from a letter of Burghley written at this time that he and his colleagues desired to bring the Scottish queen to trial, upon what charge we are not informed; but if Elizabeth had given her consent, abundant evidence would no doubt have been forthcoming. Burghley thus describes the strange state of perplexity into which his mistress was thrown by the discussions in the Council, which had lasted three days, and during which she had been as variable as the weather. For he adds: "Her majesty would come to no determination on any one point; so they left off talking from weariness, and the queen had postponed all till some future time. They were long deliberating to what place the Scottish queen should be brought, where she and her causes might be heard. The *Tower* was rejected. The Council then unanimously recommended *Hertford Castle*, which the queen consented to *for one whole day*, and then changed her mind, saying it was too near London. Then *Fotheringay* was mentioned, which she said was too far off. Then *Grafton*, *Woodstock*, *Northampton*, *Coventry*, and *Huntingdon*, all of which were rejected, either for want of strength or conveniency," &c.—Burghley to Walsingham, 10th Sept. 1581; printed in Chalmers, ii. 89.

CHAPTER XXI.

PERSECUTIONS AND PLOTS IN ENGLAND; FRESH TROUBLES IN SCOTLAND.

THE history of religious persecution presents everywhere the same characteristic features. Whenever a dominant sect seeks to extend its doctrines or to extinguish its adversaries by force, we have the same scenes of ruthless violence on the one side, and of heroic endurance on the other. The persecution of the Catholics under Elizabeth, although less rigorous than that of the Protestants under her sister Mary, was of a more systematic and enduring kind, and led to results far more important. Although during the reign of the last of the Tudors the stake and the fagot ceased to be employed[1] as instruments of punishment, a variety of highly penal statutes placed the fortune, and even the life, of every Catholic at the mercy of the civil power. As the kingdom swarmed with informers and spies of every grade in society, evidence was never wanting when a victim was required; and in the year 1580, the sufferings of those who still adhered to the

[1] It does not appear that any Catholics suffered death by burning in the reign of Elizabeth. But various Nonconformists were sent to the stake. In the year 1579, several Anabaptists were committed to the flames in Smithfield.—Lingard, vi. 170.

ancient creed became so intolerable, that numbers were forced to seek an asylum in foreign countries. Among them were various ecclesiastics distinguished for their learning and ability, who established themselves first at Douai, and finally, with the tacit sanction of the King of France, at Rheims.[1] Of these the most eminent was Dr William Allen, a native of Lancashire, who afterwards became deeply implicated in the various plots which, during the next few years, were hatched against Elizabeth. With the aid of a few zealous coadjutors, who like himself had sought a refuge abroad from the storm of Protestant persecution, he founded a seminary, which became a favourite place of resort with the Catholic youth of England, and from which, from time to time, emissaries were despatched in secret to their native country to watch the progress of events, to administer religious consolation to their fellow-sufferers throughout the kingdom, or to concert measures for the overthrow of Protestantism and the deposition of Elizabeth.

The persecution of the Catholics, if not caused, was seriously aggravated, by the presence of Mary Stewart in England, and tended much to widen the breach between her and her sister queen. Mary could not but regard the sufferings of her friends[2] and adherents with sympathy and indignation; and when to these natural sentiments we add the bitter sense of her own unnumbered wrongs, we need not be surprised to find

[1] Camden, 347; Lingard, vi. 163 *et seq.*

[2] On the 27th September 1580, she writes to her ambassador in Paris: "Les prisons sont ja pleins de ces pauvres gens, lesquelles ont esté si miserablement traitez que le plupart de ceux de leur religion, qui sont en liberté, sont déliberé par desespoir d'abandonner le pays," &c.—Labanoff, v. 180.

that she became more and more disposed to listen to the various schemes which from time to time were devised for the overthrow of her oppressors. To this pass had Burghley, with all his boasted skill in statecraft, brought the two queens at last. After twelve years of laborious intrigue and countless dangers, the situation had become more dangerous, and the future more dark, than ever. In Scotland, in spite of all his efforts, the friends of Mary were once more everywhere triumphant. In France, her cousin Henry of Guise, who inherited all the influence and more than the ambition of his father, had seriously revived the project entertained by his family twenty years before, of invading Britain with the aid of Spain. Ireland was in a state of chronic misery and disaffection; and in 1580, a sanguinary rebellion[1] broke out in that unhappy country, the origin of which was clearly traced to the intrigues of English refugees in France and Spain, who were secretly supplied with money and arms by Philip, in retaliation for the many unwarrantable acts of hostility committed against him by Elizabeth.

That the dangers which threatened England at this time were of the most formidable kind, is not to be disputed; but that they were the direct and necessary consequence of the policy of her rulers, is no less plain. The great Catholic Powers had sought no quarrel with Elizabeth. France, after the outbreak of the religious war in 1560, and Spain, after the revolt of the Netherlands, had abundance of occupation in their own dominions without dreaming of foreign conquest. They no more thought of attacking England than they did of assailing Denmark, Switzerland, or the Protestant States

[1] Camden, 153, 156; Leland, 225-242.

of Germany. But with the advent of the Reformation a new kind of policy had sprung up in England, which may be said to have culminated under the auspices of Cecil. When in former times she had taken part in Continental broils, she had never hesitated to declare openly who were her enemies and who were her friends. But she was now professedly at peace with the Kings of France and Spain, while in reality she was straining every nerve to perpetuate the most deadly kind of civil war in their dominions. The petty princes of Italy had long practised this kind of underhand dealing with their neighbours, but it was a policy unworthy of a free and martial people: nor can it, on the whole, be said to have proved successful; for although long pursued with impunity, it roused at last against Elizabeth a spirit of hostility, her escape from the consequences of which may be described as all but miraculous.

It has been said that the hostility at this time manifested against the English queen by the Catholic Powers was in fact a conspiracy against the Reformation.[1] It may be much more truly described as the natural and necessary consequence of the meddling, treacherous, and essentially aggressive policy of Cecil. The public life of this renowned minister consists, indeed, of little more than a series of conspiracies against the Catholic Powers; and if they eventually became the assailants in their turn, neither he nor his mistress could in reason complain that the weapons they had so long employed should be turned at length against themselves.

It may be said, in defence of Cecil's policy, that

[1] Froude, xi. c. 27, 28.

England was no longer in his day the first military Power in Europe, which she unquestionably had been during a great portion of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and that by fomenting insurrection in France and Flanders, and encouraging wholesale privateering against the commerce of Spain, he availed himself of the only means of offence which he possessed. Had he acted throughout on the defensive, this plea would be a good one; but it is notorious that although singularly deficient in the qualities requisite for successful aggression, he was the aggressor in every instance. It is a serious imputation upon a statesman, that although ever ready to provoke hostility, he was helpless in the hour of danger; yet his manifest inability to deal with the northern rebellion in 1569,[1] and still more the total want of vigour and foresight which he subsequently displayed when England was threatened with the Armada,[2] prove incontestably that Lord Burghley lay open to this grave charge. From the influence which he acquired over Elizabeth, and the prominent part he took in the establishment of the Reformation in England, the virtues of this celebrated person have been much extolled; and it must be admitted that in industry and vigilance no minister ever surpassed him. But in other and rarer qualities he will not bear comparison even with contemporary statesmen. He possessed neither the deep impenetrable craft of Murray, the versatility of Maitland, the commanding intellect of Sussex, nor the vigour and dexterity of Walsingham. From the enormous mass

[1] *Ante*, vol. i. 500.

[2] The proofs of this, which Mr Motley has given in his valuable history of the revolt of the Netherlands, are numerous and conclusive. See chapters 17 and 18.

of papers which Burghley has left behind him, written for the most part with his own hand, we learn that he arrived at his conclusions by slow and painful steps; and from his habit of laboriously balancing the arguments on every question which came before him, we can perceive that the difficulty which he experienced in making up his mind on any given subject sensibly increased with age. There were only two points from which, in his latter days at least, he never swerved—his fixed purpose to maintain the Reformation, and his hostility to Mary Stewart.

At an earlier period of his career he had exhibited a very different spirit; for in choosing his religion, as well as his politics, interest and convenience were his only guides. He owed his first advancement in public life to the Protector Somerset; but on the fall of that ambitious noble, he at once transferred his services to Northumberland, the mortal enemy of his former patron.[1] In religion, Cecil had shown himself to be equally pliant. He had, with characteristic prudence, professed himself a Protestant under Edward VI., and a Papist under his sister Mary.[2] On the accession of Elizabeth, he became a Protestant once more, and to the new creed he steadfastly adhered during the remainder of his days. As during his long tenure of office he did not hesitate to accept a very considerable share of the forfeited property of the Church,[3] we have every reason

[1] See Memoirs of Lord Burghley, by Dr Nares, chap. xiii. 22 *et seq.*

[2] Ibid. In the year 1554 he was sent to Brussels, along with the Lord Paget, to bring Cardinal Pole to England.—Nares, i. chap. xxxix.

[3] Lord Macaulay says that he "was so moderate in his desires that he left only three hundred distinct landed estates" at his death.—Essay on Lord Burghley, from the Edinburgh Review, April 1832.

to believe in the sincerity of his final conversion to the doctrines of the Reformation.

At this time the Lord Treasurer was busily occupied with an affair of great delicacy and importance. After a protracted display of caprice and vanity which threw into the shade all her former exhibitions of a similar kind, Elizabeth had at length, to all appearance, made up her mind to marry the youngest son of Catherine de Medici. Neither in point of age, character, country, or religion, was the Duke of Alençon a suitable husband for the English queen. He was only twenty-four years old, while she was forty-nine: his morals were such as might have been expected in a son of Catherine and a brother of Henry III.: his countrymen were popularly regarded as the natural enemies of England; and although, to win the favour of Elizabeth, he had appeared in arms with the Huguenots, he was universally believed to be a bigoted Papist, like all his race. But Burghley was too wary a politician to run the risk of incurring the hostility and hatred of his mistress by opposing her on a point upon which she seemed to have set her heart. Believing that her wandering affections were fixed at last, he expressed his cordial approval of the match; and when commissioners arrived from France to settle the final terms of the contract, he invited them to an entertainment at his private house,[1] which, from its splendour and costliness, enables us to form some

[1] This banquet took place on *Sunday*, the 30th of April 1581, at Burghley House, in the Strand. See an elaborate account of it in the 'Life and Times of Lord Burghley,' by Dr Nares, iii. 162. Among the articles consumed were 360 pounds of butter and 3300 eggs, and the cost of the entertainment was £649, 1s. 5d., a very large sum in the sixteenth century.

notion of the wealth he had acquired in the service of the Crown. It is worthy of note that the Queen of Scots expressed her strong approval of the Alençon match.[1] It may seem difficult to account for this remarkable fact, for the marriage of Elizabeth must certainly have diminished Mary's chances of the English succession, of which, amid all her anxieties and troubles, she had never lost sight. But her desire for liberty was now stronger than her ambition; and she no doubt concluded, that if her brother-in-law became the consort of the English queen, she could no longer in decency detain her in captivity.

Sussex also approved of the marriage, we may assume on public grounds alone. Philip had recently added Portugal to his vast dominions; and the Alençon match appeared to be the surest means of preventing that coalition between France and Spain which English politicians so justly dreaded. But there were other members of the Council who took a different view of the projected union. The veteran Sadler and Sir Walter Mildmay were decidedly opposed to it. Bromley the Lord Chancellor and Walsingham were of the same opinion; and Sir Philip Sidney, the celebrated nephew of Leicester, even ventured to warn Elizabeth, in a long and eloquent letter,[2] of the dangers of the match. John Stubbs, a Puritan lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, in a pamphlet which he published at this time, addressed the queen in language still more plain. He told her that she was too old to bear children, and

[1] See letter of Castelnau to the King of France, 8th February 1580-81, Teulet, iii. 65, in which he says that Mary had written to him saying that she desired the marriage "plus que sa propre libérte."

[2] It is printed in Cabala, p. 363.

asked how she, a daughter of God, could consent to marry a son of the devil. Elizabeth was furious; but not daring to meddle with the all-accomplished Sidney, she declared she would hang Stubbs, as well as the printer and publisher of his wicked pamphlet. Finding, however, that it was impossible to obtain against them a conviction for treason, they were indicted under a statute which was passed in the reign of Philip and Mary for the punishing of libels against the "husband" of the queen. Some of the legal authorities maintained with reason that this could not be taken to include a suitor or "intended husband" of the sovereign. Manson, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, was of this opinion, and rather than retract it he resigned his post.[1] But Stubbs, the writer of the pamphlet, and Page, the printer, were speedily arraigned before a sufficiently complaisant tribunal; and although Castelnau, the French ambassador, interceded on their behalf, they were both condemned to lose their right hands. The people witnessed this new and barbarous punishment in gloomy silence, and while they admired the manly fortitude of the sufferers,[2] regarded with increasing aversion the projected French alliance.

Camden, who was present at the mutilation of Stubbs and Page, informs us that, in order to allay the discontent of the Puritans and reassure the nation on the subject of religion, Elizabeth was strongly advised

[1] Camden, 239.

[2] "I remember (being present thereat) that when Stubbs, having his right hand cut off, put off his hat with his left, and said with a loud voice, 'God save the Queen.'"—Camden, 239. Page seems to have displayed equal courage.

at this time to enforce to their full extent the penal laws against the Catholics. It is probable that, in consequence of her relations with Alençon, she adopted with reluctance the advice of her ministers; but it must be admitted that at this time they had good grounds for alarm. The overthrow of Morton had revived the hopes of the Catholics, and various consultations had been held at Rheims as to the steps to be taken in consequence of the revolution in Scotland. It was finally determined, in concert with the English refugees in Paris and the Jesuit College at Rome, that a new proposal should be made to Mary. Her son was now fifteen, and although he had been strictly brought up in the Protestant faith, it was hoped that, through the influence of Lennox, who was certainly at this time playing a double game, the prince might be eventually induced to adopt the religion of his fathers. With this object in view, as well as with that of relieving his mother from captivity, it was now proposed that she should be associated with her son in the government of Scotland. Mary had hitherto refused to acknowledge in any shape the sovereignty of her son. She maintained that she, and she alone, was Queen of Scotland; and in the year 1579, her French secretary Nau,[1] who had been permitted to carry some presents from her to her son, was not allowed to see him because she did not acknowledge him as king.[2] But, wearied of her long imprisonment, she now yielded to the advice of her friends, backed as it was by a letter written in his own hand by Henry III.,[3] and gave her consent

[1] Nau, who had been in the service of the Cardinal of Lorraine, became secretary to Mary on the death of Raulet in 1574.—See Labanoff.

[2] Robertson, ii. 388.

[3] Henry's letter is printed by Cheruel, 'Marie Stuart et Catherine de

to the scheme of the association. Robert Parsons, an English Jesuit, in high repute with his superiors in France, was the instrument selected to arrange the details. He arrived at Dover in June 1581, disguised in the uniform of an English volunteer who had been serving in the Low Countries. He well knew that detection would certainly be followed by imprisonment and torture at the least. But he escaped Walsingham's spies, and made his way to London, where he was in comparative security. A correspondence was now opened up with the Scottish court by means of a young Scottish Jesuit named Crichton. This emissary was received with secret cordiality by Aubigny, by the Catholic nobility, and even by James himself, who at this time had a grudge against Elizabeth. His grandmother, the Countess of Lennox, had died, leaving considerable estates in England, and these he claimed as her lineal representative. But Elizabeth's reluctance to part with property of any kind amounted to a passion; and, in spite of the remonstrances of her godson, she seemed resolved to keep the Lennox estates to herself.[1]

The character of James had now begun to develop itself; and although deprived in his infancy of the care of both parents, he already exhibited some of the most

Medici,' p. 91. Catherine also wrote to Mary recommending the project of the association. Her letter is also printed by Cheruel, ibid.

[1] By the law of succession in England, these estates belonged, not to the King of Scots, but to his cousin-german, Arabella Stewart, who was a daughter of his uncle, Lord Charles Lennox (a younger brother of Darnley), and Elizabeth Cavendish, a daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury by her first husband, Sir William Cavendish. Both the parents of Arabella Stewart died when she was an infant. But she was born in England; and therefore, according to the rules of English law, was the true heir of her grandmother, to the exclusion of the King of Scots, who was an alien, and was as such incapable of inheriting real estate.

striking qualities of both. He seemed to possess much of his mother's intelligence, still more of his father's duplicity and dissimulation, and a certain native shrewdness peculiar to himself, the result apparently of early training, and of the singular circumstances in which from his earliest years he had been placed. In the present instance his sincerity may well be doubted: but the Crown revenues of Scotland had, under the four successive regencies, and more especially under that of Morton, dwindled down to a very insignificant amount; the young king was much in want of money; Elizabeth was not only unwilling to assist him, but seemed determined to rob him of his grandmother's inheritance; and the prospect of a seasonable supply from the Pope and the King of Spain induced him to listen to the proposals of the Jesuit emissary. Without formally committing himself to any definite arrangement, James, acting no doubt by the advice of Lennox, agreed to receive at his court a Catholic priest, ostensibly for the purpose of teaching him Italian; and he further engaged to the utmost of his power to protect his mother's adherents from persecution.[1]

Mary had meanwhile communicated the plan of the association both to Elizabeth[2] and to Lord Burghley; and she proposed that they should send an envoy to Scotland, in company with one to be named by her, to settle the conditions. But as the English queen and her ministers had been consulting very shortly before as to the expediency of putting her to death, we need not be surprised that Mary's letters received no

[1] Lingard, vi. 175.
[2] Labanoff, v., Letters of 10th October, 266, 271.

satisfactory reply. It was determined, however, to send down Robert Beale, the brother-in-law of Walsingham and clerk of the Council, to Sheffield Castle, not with the purpose of coming to any arrangement with Mary, but, if possible, to discover the nature of her engagements with Scotland and Spain. One good result, however, followed from Beale's visit. Although as a Puritan he regarded Mary as a public enemy, he was satisfied that her health was in a very precarious state. She was, in fact, at this time unable to walk; and in consequence of his advice, a coach, which the French ambassador had provided for her, was as a special favour allowed to be sent to Sheffield Castle for her use.[1]

Beale left Sheffield towards the end of November, and through the winter Mary looked anxiously for some definite answer to her very reasonable proposals. But none came, and in the interval she was apprised by Lennox of the projected plan of invasion by the Duke of Guise.[2] Notwithstanding the disappointment and delay, she still clung to the hope that Elizabeth would agree to the plan of the association; and in the beginning of April

[1] Mr Froude, xi. 472, insinuates that on Beale's arrival at Sheffield Mary pretended to be sick. He says, speaking of Beale, "He found her in bed, with the room darkened. She said she was ill and unable to bear the light, but he ascertained afterwards that the candles had been extinguished immediately before he was admitted. She revived rapidly when she heard the character of his message," &c. Mr Froude obviously means his readers to infer that Mary was pretending to be ill when she was really well. But he omits to state, not only that Beale minutely described the alarming condition of the queen, but that in consequence of what he saw and heard he recommended a coach to be sent for her use. In fact, for many weeks after Beale left Sheffield Castle, Mary was confined to her apartments. On the 6th of January 1582, Shrewsbury wrote to Walsingham "that she had not been out yet, as she was still very weak, but free from pain."—Record Office; and Chalmers, ii. 96.

[2] His letter is printed in Mignet, Appendix L, 334, edition 1851.

1582, Beale paid a second visit to Sheffield Castle, ostensibly with the view of arranging the details. That Mary, in spite of all she had endured, was sincerely desirous of coming to terms with her rival at this time was certainly the opinion of Beale himself. Nor are her motives difficult of explanation. She knew well that any scheme of foreign invasion must prove hazardous in the extreme; that in the event of failure her life would certainly be sacrificed, and, what she dreaded still more, the chances of her son's succession to the English crown destroyed. We can well understand, therefore, that on mature consideration she should assure Beale "that she desired, above all things, her majesty's favour and friendship, which, *if she might be assured of*, then would she prefer the same above all others, and make thereof an open demonstration against all that might seek to disturb the quietness of her majesty's estate and benefit of the realm."[1] She further added "that her meaning was to persuade her son to embrace her majesty's favour and amity above all others, for that would in her opinion be most for his benefit, and so was desirous to leave him in good terms of amity with her majesty (being herself diseased and not like to continue long)." She trusted, in conclusion, that her son would in his marriage be guided by the advice and direction of the Queen of England.[2]

But it is plain that Elizabeth had no other motive in sending Beale a second time to Sheffield Castle except to play once more her old game of deception and delay. Although she professed to regard with favour the plan of the association, she was, for vari-

[1] Lodge, ii. 212. [2] Ibid.

ous reasons, decidedly opposed to it. Instead of promoting concord between the mother and her son, she was persuaded that her interest would be best served by sowing dissension between them; and in this design she eventually succeeded beyond her expectations.

Mary has been accused[1] of double dealing at this time, because, while she was expressing her earnest wish to come to terms with Elizabeth, she was secretly corresponding with Aubigny and the Court of Spain, as if her thirteen years' experience of prison life in England ought to have inspired her with perfect confidence in the honour and fair dealing of her keepers, and induced her to reject absolutely all offers of foreign aid.[2] That she would have much preferred a peaceful solution of all differences between her and Elizabeth to the desperate expedient of an invasion is abundantly clear. But her advances were met, as heretofore, with trickery and falsehood. The long delay between the visits of Beale was in itself suspicious; and when he appeared at last, it was not as a negotiator, but as a spy. He was without definite powers of any kind; and while she was required, as at Chatsworth, to bind herself to everything, her rival bound herself to nothing.[3] Mary had been often imposed upon by her enemies, but to have at this time absolutely rejected all offers of foreign aid in blind reliance on the friendship of

[1] Froude, xi. c. 30.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Mary reminded Beale of this in a letter which she wrote to him on the 16th of April 1582. She complains that up to that time she had received "rien eu par escript de la Royne, ma dicte bonne sœur, ou de son conseil, et demeurant s'il fault dire, soubz la puissance de ceux avec qui je traite, restans libres de performer ce que bon leur semblera et m'obligeans de servir à leur advantage."—Labanoff, v. 292.

Elizabeth, was a piece of folly of which she was incapable.

The conspirators at Rheims who had planned the scheme of the association between Mary and her son, had, in addition, cordially approved of the daring project of the Duke of Guise. Henry III., enervated by debauchery, and entirely the tool of his mother, had lost the confidence of both the contending factions, and Guise was universally regarded as the leader of the Catholics of France, as Henry of Navarre, the next heir of the crown after the house of Valois, was the acknowledged chief of the Huguenots. It was proposed that Guise should land with a sufficient force, either in Scotland or in the north of England—where the Catholic element was strongest, and where the people had not yet forgotten the butchery of 1569—and with the aid of a Scottish army to liberate the Scottish queen, and to place her, along with her son, on the throne of Elizabeth.

Mary had been apprised of this dangerous project as well by Aubigny, who had now been created Duke of Lennox,[1] as by the Spanish ambassador in London, Don Bernardino de Mendoza. After the expulsion of D'Espes in 1571, six years elapsed before another representative of the King of Spain appeared in England. But nothing is more remarkable in the history of this age than the anxiety of Philip, notwithstanding all the provocations he had received, to remain at peace with Elizabeth. Not only were English volun-

[1] He was at the same time appointed commendator or lay abbot of Aberbrothwick, a sinecure, according to Castelnau, worth upwards of 10,000 crowns a-year.—Teulet, iii. 75; letter to the King of France of 27th May 1580.

teers continually flocking in hundreds across the Channel to join the insurgents in the Netherlands, but, shortly before Mendoza's arrival in London, Francis Drake had sailed for the Pacific, on that memorable expedition which filled the queen's coffers, as well as his own, with the plunder of Spanish subjects. But beyond a formal protest, Philip took no means to avenge the innumerable depredations committed throughout his American dominions by Drake and his brother buccaneers.

Mendoza, who was by profession a soldier, proud of his high birth and jealous of the honour of his country, would have taken another course. But he was bound by his instruction to conciliate and temporise, and although often provoked by the caprices of Elizabeth, of whom he appears to have entertained but a mean opinion,[1] he awaited patiently that turn in the tide of events which he believed must eventually lead his sovereign to victory and vengeance.

When Don John of Austria had proposed to invade England for the purpose of liberating Mary Stewart, she had, as we have seen, regarded the scheme with coldness, if not with absolute disapproval. But four years had since elapsed, and the prospect of release from her captivity seemed still as distant as ever.[2] The continued confinement to which she had been

[1] See his letter to Philip in Froude, xi. 392.

[2] Writing to her ambassador in Paris, after Beale's second visit, Mary expresses the most profound distrust of Elizabeth and her ministers. She says: "Ayant eu tant des preuves d'experience de leur malignité contre moy que je ne peux aulcunement m'asseurer d'eux, ny appréhendre qu'ils me puissent ou veuillent bien faire jamais, ores que je le veisse quasi devant mes yeux."—Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 7th April 1582; Labanoff, v. 284.

subjected had ruined her once fine constitution; at the age of thirty-eight her limbs were crippled by periodical attacks of rheumatism, and her hair had turned to grey.[1] With failing health, and no prospect of release except in death, we need not be surprised that she did not reject the chivalrous offer of her cousin the Duke of Guise, and that, provided she was satisfied upon two points, she was prepared to sanction it. Of these the first was, that it should be approved of by the Pope and the King of Spain; and the second, that the state of parties in Scotland[2] was sufficiently encouraging to warrant the attempt being made. Lennox had assured her that two-thirds of her subjects were prepared to espouse her cause,[3] but she desired more precise information upon this essential point before giving her final sanction to so hazardous an enterprise.

The contrast between the explicit language which she addressed to Beale and her qualified approval of the design of Guise, seems to indicate with sufficient clearness the true state of Mary's mind at this time. It was only when she believed that her negotiations with Elizabeth had failed that she was prepared,

[1] So she informed Beale, adding that she had no thought now of marrying again. Unlike her sister queen, Mary was singularly devoid of vanity. I recollect no other instance of her referring to her personal appearance.—See Beale's letter in Harl. MSS., 291.

[2] "Il ni a que deux points, c'est à savoir s'il plait au Pope et au roy Catholique. L'autre point que in Scotia, toutes coses y soyent soigneusment preparé," &c.—Mary Stewart to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, 6th April 1582; printed by Mignet, Appendix L, from Simancas. This letter was written a few days after Beale's second visit to Sheffield—that is, after she had ascertained that, notwithstanding the unwarrantable delay that had taken place, he was still without authority to come to any terms, or even to make her any offer.

[3] See his letter, Mignet; Appendix L, 340.

under certain circumstances and conditions, to sanction the hazardous expedient of an invasion.

Meanwhile the Catholics in England were subjected to the most cruel persecutions. Strenuous efforts were made to discover Parsons, the object of whose mission was strongly suspected; but he was fortunate enough to elude pursuit, and finally made his escape from England. A very different fate awaited his friend and fellow-student Edmund Campian. That celebrated person was arrested at the house of a gentlewoman in Berkshire, whose husband had been sent to prison on account of his religion. Campian had landed in England shortly after Parsons, but there is no proof that he was employed on a political mission, or that he had taken any part in the intrigues of his companion.[1] No society that ever existed knew so well how to employ, to the best advantage, the talents and acquirements of its different members, as that of the Jesuits; and when Parsons was busily conspiring against Elizabeth, Campian was wholly absorbed in the duties of his sacred calling. Endowed with great powers of eloquence and enthusiastically devoted to his work, he spent his days and nights in administering spiritual consolation to his persecuted countrymen, and cheering them with the hopes, even in this life, of a brighter future. While a youth at Oxford he had acquired high distinction, and he was now in the full maturity of his powers,

[1] Camden, who had known both Parsons and Campian as fellow-students at Oxford, thus describes them: "This Parsons was a Somersetshire man, vehement, fierce of nature, and of rude behaviour; Campian was of London, a sweet-natured and most courteous man; both of them by education Oxford men, whom I myself knew, being their equal in the university in those days."—P. 217.

the apostle whom the Pope had specially chosen to bring back England from the path of heresy and revolution to the bosom of the Church. In the absence of Parsons no more desirable victim could be found. Along with six other seminary priests Campian was accordingly sent to the Tower, where all were repeatedly and most savagely tortured, but to no purpose. If any of them had been acquainted with the secret object of the mission of Parsons, it is not probable that they would have remained silent under the terrible inflictions which they endured.

Although there was literally no evidence against them, it was determined that they should all be indicted for high treason under the statute of Edward III.: on that charge they were accordingly arraigned on the 12th November 1581.[1] Campian's right arm had been dislocated on the rack, and when he appeared in court he was unable, without assistance, to raise his hand. All pleaded Not Guilty, and the only positive evidence against Campian was given by a witness named Elliot, a creature of the Earl of Leicester. This man swore that he heard Campian preach a sermon in Berkshire in which he lamented the prevalence of heresy in England, and expressed a confident hope that it would be speedily overthrown. It was contended by the counsel for the Crown that allusion was here clearly made to a political revolution which was to be accomplished by means of foreign arms.

"Oh Judas, Judas!" exclaimed Campian, with

[1] Eight other persons were indicted along with Campian—namely, Sherwin, Briant, Bosgrave, Cotham, Johnson, Bristow, Kirbie, and Orton. The name of Briant has been erroneously omitted in the list of the accused given in the State Trials.—See Howell, i. 1050.

justifiable indignation, "no other day was in my mind, I protest, than that wherein it should please God to make a restoration of faith and religion."[1] He further declared that he well knew his religion was his only crime, for he and his companions had been offered their lives and their liberty if they would consent to hear a Protestant sermon. But his ability and eloquence were exerted in vain. He, as well as all his companions, were found guilty and condemned to die as traitors.

It is highly probable that Elizabeth consented with reluctance to the death of these unfortunate men. So great was Campian's reputation that, while he was a prisoner in the Tower, periodically undergoing the torture of the rack, and living upon mouldy bread and filthy water, she expressed a strong desire to see him. He was brought accordingly to Leicester's house and introduced to the queen, whom he readily acknowledged as his lawful sovereign. But on the question of the Papal supremacy he declined to give any definite opinion, as it was a point upon which the most learned men held conflicting views. This reply proved fatal; and in company with Sherwin and Briant, the latter a youth of four-and-twenty, he was consigned to Tyburn on the 1st of December. While they were on the scaffold, Sir Francis Knollys was commissioned to offer them their lives if they would consent to hear a Protestant sermon.[2] This important fact confirms to the letter the assertion of Campian, that their religion was their only crime. It seemed further to afford a practical refutation of the oft-repeated calumny that the oath of a Catholic was

[1] State Trials, i. 1065.

[2] See Froude, xi. 357.

not binding on his conscience. Such was the faith reposed in the honour of these poor sufferers for conscience' sake, that a bare promise of outward conformity to the new religion would have saved their lives. Without a moment's hesitation they all refused to give it, and were one by one consigned to the hangman's hands. To the intervention of the queen we must attribute the fact that they were not cut down till they were dead. That horrible portion of the sentence pronounced upon them, which condemned a convicted traitor to be disembowelled alive, was in this instance omitted. Of the remaining prisoners convicted along with Campian, three saved their lives by a promise of conformity, the rest were executed.[1]

In Scotland the two favourites, Lennox and Arran, still held undisputed sway. But a coalition, composed of certain of the nobility and the whole of the Presbyterian clergy, was being rapidly formed against them. Lennox had grievously offended the zealots of the Kirk by his avowed preference for Episcopacy; and John Durie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, had assailed the favourites from his pulpit with a virulence worthy of Knox. He further imitated the great Reformer in the insolent familiarity with which he treated the young king. James was always passionately fond of hunting, and the Duke of Guise about this time had sent him a present of some horses. No sooner did Durie hear of this than he hastened to Kinneil,[2] where the king was at the time residing, and

[1] Lingard, c. v.

[2] Kinneil, in West Lothian, had been a seat of the Hamiltons, but was now the residence of Arran, the king's favourite.

demanding an audience, rebuked him for receiving gifts from his cousin, whom he denounced as a murderer of the saints and an emissary of the devil. Overawed by the vehemence of the man, James meekly replied that he had no intention of changing his religion, and that he would marry no woman "who did not fear God and love the Evangel."[1]

Emboldened by his success, Durie returned to Edinburgh, and indulged in such unmeasured abuse of Lennox and the mother of the king, that he was summoned before the Council and ordered to quit the city. The General Assembly, which met shortly afterwards, under the presidency of Andrew Melvill, a preacher of still greater repute, protested strenuously against the banishment of Durie, but without effect.[2] Lennox and Arran were still omnipotent at court, and as they defied the thunders of the clergy, it was necessary, to effect their overthrow, to resort to other means.

A bond was accordingly drawn up similar to those which had been prepared previous to the murders of Riccio and Darnley. That Lennox should share the fate of those successive victims of feudal violence was clearly the intention of the conspirators. That they also meditated the death of Arran is highly probable, although it does not appear that he was suspected of being in any way mixed up with the designs of the Duke of Guise. But circumstances favoured the escape of both the favourites, and their enemies were enabled to accomplish their purpose without bloodshed.

Lord Ruthven had been created Earl of Gowrie in

[1] Tytler, viii. 98.

[2] Ibid., 100, 101.

1581, and in August of the following year the young king paid him a visit at his castle near Perth, with the purpose of enjoying his favourite amusement of hunting. The plans of the conspirators were not yet matured; but Sir Robert Bowes, who was privy to the plot, furnished them with information which induced them to adopt the sudden resolution of making a prisoner of the king, an incident for which they had many precedents in Scottish history. The English ambassador informed Gowrie and his friends that Lennox had discovered their intrigues, and that as soon as he could muster a sufficient force for the purpose, he intended to treat them as he had treated their old confederate Morton.[1] It so happened that neither of the favourites had accompanied James to Ruthven Castle; and three of the conspirators—Gowrie, Lindsay, and Glammis—were all-powerful in the neighbourhood of Perth. To assemble a thousand of their retainers, to surround the castle and disarm the king's guards, was the work of a few hours; and Gowrie and his friends affected to treat the young king with so much deference that he could not believe he was a prisoner. But in the morning he learned the bitter truth. Hearing him order his horse, Glammis informed him that for the present it was deemed safer that his majesty should

[1] This is a very improbable story; for if Lennox had discovered the designs of the conspirators, why should he have trusted the king in their hands? That it was a device of Walsingham to spur them on is much more probable. Writing to him on the 26th August, Bowes says: "*According to your late direction*, and to the contents of my last letters to you, I have given notice by means of my good friends, to the Earls of Mar and Gowrie, the Lord Lindsay, Boyd, and others, to beware of the practice intended against them," &c.—Bowes' Correspondence, 178.

remain at Ruthven Castle. James declared that he would go where he pleased, and was about to leave the apartment when Glammis rudely placed his leg across the doorway so as to bar the passage. The young king was moved to tears by this indignity, and some of the lords remonstrated with Glammis: "Better that bairns should greet than bearded men," was the baron's stern reply.[1]

On hearing of the captivity of the king, Arran rode at full speed to Ruthven Castle, desiring his brother, Sir William Stewart, to follow with as large a force as he could hastily collect. But on his arrival at the gate he was immediately made a prisoner;[2] and his brother, who set out shortly after him with a party of horse, was attacked and defeated before they reached Perth by the Earl of Mar and the Laird of Lochleven, who were on the watch to prevent any interference with the plans of the conspirators. Lennox was at his castle of Dalkeith[3] when he heard the unexpected news, and had he possessed the vigour and promptitude of Arran he might speedily have turned the tables on his enemies. The position of affairs bore a remarkable resemblance to that when the king's mother was sent a prisoner to Lochleven. The leaders, Ruthven and Lindsay, had taken part in both plots, and in neither did the conspirators against the Crown represent the majority of the Scottish nobles. Lennox could still count upon his side the Earls of Huntly, Sutherland, Orkney,[4]

[1] Tytler, viii. 110; and Spottiswoode, ii. 290. [2] Tytler, ii. 109.

[3] Dalkeith had been the property of Morton as Kinneil had been that of the Hamiltons.

[4] Lord Robert Stewart, one of the illegitimate sons of James V., recently created Earl of Orkney.

Crawford, and Bothwell,[1] together with Lords Herries, Seton, Hume, Sir James Balfour, and all the chief families of the Border. But Lennox was wholly unequal to the emergency. Although an adept in intrigue, he shrank from the prospect of a struggle with Gowrie and his friends, backed as he knew they were by the whole influence of the Kirk, as well as by that of Elizabeth. Instead of rallying his numerous followers around him, he seemed incapable of forming a resolution, and was unprepared alike to fight or fly. The clergy did not fail to take advantage of his hesitation, and John Durie not only continued to assail him with impunity, but returned to Edinburgh in a kind of triumph. Two thousand citizens received him bareheaded at the gates, and accompanied him to the High Church, singing, as they marched by his side, the 124th Psalm. Lennox witnessed the procession in dismay from a window in the town, and shortly afterwards retired in haste to his castle of Dumbarton. Thence he repaired to France,[2] where he soon afterwards died. James was deeply affected by the loss of his earliest favourite, and he evinced the sincerity of his attachment by the warm interest he subsequently took in the fortunes of his descendants.

In this year died one of the worst of Mary's enemies, the prince of literary prostitutes, Buchanan. His perfect mastery of the Latin tongue acquired

[1] A nephew by the mother's side of the famous earl, who died without descendants.

[2] In May 1583. In the autumn of the same year, his eldest son, the young Duke of Lennox, who was only thirteen years old, arrived in Scotland, and was treated by James with the utmost kindness.—Tytler, viii. 161, note.

him a European reputation, but his works are in general more remarkable for mere elegance of style than for their intrinsic merit. First the sycophant and then the slanderer of his sovereign, his pen was ever at the service of the highest bidder. But his powers were better adapted for flattery than invective. Nothing can be more finished than some of his laudatory verses upon Mary; nothing can be more ridiculous than the gross exaggerations of the 'Detection.' It is said by Camden[1] that he expressed remorse, in his latter days, at having written that foul libel; but this it is difficult to believe, for the man who feels remorse must have a conscience. It is possible, however, that upon mature reflection he may have been heartily ashamed of its unredeemed absurdity. Buchanan had been soured by poverty in his youth; and prosperity, when it came at last, seems only to have hardened his cynical and sullen nature. His reputation in his own day was immensely overrated. As a work of authority, his history is all but worthless. The early books are purely fabulous; and the latter portion of the work, which has been industriously copied by the Protestant writers of the Continent, consists of little more than a series of libels against the sovereign who first raised him from obscurity. Obscene thoughts dressed up in a dead language are often apt to please, which in their nakedness would only inspire disgust; and to this circumstance we may perhaps ascribe whatever popularity Buchanan's satires may have at any time acquired. By far the most important of his works were his political discourses;[2] for they propounded doctrines which,

[1] Annals, anno 1582.

[2] De jure regni apud Scotos.

although not new on the Continent, were new in Britain,[1] and which exercised, eventually, considerable influence on the opinions of the age. Although he could not venture openly to advocate the abolition of monarchy, it is easy to perceive in these discourses that Buchanan was at bottom a bigoted republican; for, like many other men who, before and since his time, have sought to revolutionise the world, he seems to have become, in his latter days, a fanatic in his politics and a freethinker in his religion.[2]

Mary's hopes of liberty were once more destroyed by the success of Gowrie's plot; but she was less moved by her own misfortune than by that which had befallen her son. In his captivity she seemed to read a painful repetition of her own history. He was now in the absolute power of the same ruthless faction which had deposed, imprisoned, and sought to murder her. Morton, indeed, was gone; but was more reliance to be placed on the humanity and loyalty of Ruthven and Lindsay, his old accomplices in crime? She was at the time unable from illness to leave her chamber, but, overwhelmed with anxiety and grief, she addressed a long letter to Elizabeth, in which she recounted with singular eloquence and power the history of all she had endured in England. In this remarkable narrative she reminded her rival, for the first time, of an incident both interesting in itself and characteristic of the manners of the age. She bade Elizabeth remember that she had sent her a diamond ring, in token of her friendship and affection, when she was

[1] See remarks of Hallam on the subject—'Literature of the Middle Ages.'

[2] "A Stoick philosopher," according to Melvill; Memoirs, 125.

a prisoner at Lochleven, with an assurance that if she could effect her escape, the English queen would meet her on the Border with a force sufficient to protect her against her rebellious subjects. She added that it was in consequence of this and other oft-repeated promises of aid that she was induced to take refuge in England,[1] where she had ever since been not only treated as a prisoner, but continually assailed by calumny, and even denied the exercise of her religion. She further declared that the falsehood of the slanderous charges brought against her by her rebels at Westminster had been thoroughly exposed; and if, on the conclusion of that inquiry, the chief nobility of England chose to recommend a marriage between her and the Duke of Norfolk, that was a proposal for which they alone were responsible. She further reminded Elizabeth of the anarchy and bloodshed inflicted upon Scotland solely through her in-

[1] Elizabeth did not venture to deny that she had sent the ring in the manner described by Mary. In her instructions to Beale, when again about to visit Sheffield Castle, the complaints of Mary were set out *seriatim*, with a reply to each, to be delivered to the Scottish queen. The following is the complaint and answer respecting the diamond ring:—

4. "A diamant received by her as a token from her majesty, with a promise that her majesty would assist her against her rebels, &c.; upon which assurance she adventured after her defeat to cast herself into the arms of her majesty's protection."

4. "That friendly promise was made before her husband's death, when she caryed herself well; *promises and the bond of friendship are subject to civil interpretation*, and grounded upon virtue; by her miscarriage of herself afterwards this ground fayled, and therefore her majesty was consequently no more tyed to such a promise."—Record Office; Mary Queen of Scots, xii. 49.

The axiom laid down by Elizabeth, that "promises are subject to civil interpretation," is highly characteristic.

trigues. On two several occasions the English queen had induced her, under the fairest pretexts, to persuade her partisans to lay down their arms when they had a sure prospect of victory, and in both instances they were miserably betrayed. For herself she only desired for the future liberty, repose, and the exercise of her religion; yet all were denied to her. "The vilest malefactors in your jails," she continued, "your own born subjects, are heard in their defence. They are neither kept in ignorance of the crimes alleged against them, nor of their accusers. Why should I receive a different treatment, who am a sovereign princess, your nearest kinswoman, and the heiress of your crown? It is this last quality which provokes the malice of my enemies, and has been the chief source of dissension between us. But, alas! they have little cause now to harass me on this behalf; for on my honour I declare to you that I aspire to-day to no other kingdom than that of heaven, to which I look as the blessed termination of all my miseries."[1]

With respect to the late conspiracy in Scotland, she believed that it was directed against her son's life; and so long as he was in the hands of the men who now held him in captivity, she would not regard any writing issued in his name as genuine, nor any act done in his name as lawful.

It must be admitted that in this celebrated letter Mary displayed more eloquence than prudence. She could hardly hope to conciliate her rival by reminding her, in the most pointed terms, of her duplicity and falsehood. But Mary was on many occasions too apt to give expression to her feelings, and anxiety for the

[1] Mary to Elizabeth, 8th November 1582; Labanoff, v. 319.

safety of her son overpowered for the time every other consideration. In order to give as much publicity as possible to her complaints, she sent the letter open to the French ambassador, and by him it was delivered to Elizabeth. What were her feelings on receiving it we do not know, but many months elapsed before she attempted a reply; and when she did, it was in the shape not of a letter, but of instructions to Beale, who, in April 1583, was sent for the third time to Sheffield Castle, to renew the negotiations which had been suspended in consequence of the revolution in Scotland.

Mary was still willing to proceed with the plan of the association recommended to her by the King of France. She was even prepared to make concessions more important than those originally suggested, for she now informed Beale that, provided she obtained her liberty, she was ready to renounce all share in the government of Scotland, to confirm the treaty of Edinburgh, and even to continue to reside in England if Elizabeth so desired. Mary repeated these offers to Sir Walter Mildmay, who joined Beale at Sheffield Castle on the 24th of May, and through them they were communicated to Elizabeth. She lost no time in acquainting Mary that she entirely approved of her proposals.[1] But this information was accompanied by a piece of intelligence which was well calculated to excite the suspicions of the captive queen. She was informed that before proceeding further with the treaty Elizabeth had determined to send an envoy to Scotland, for what purpose was not explained. As James

[1] "Let her understand that we do very well allow of her answers made to you."—Elizabeth to Shrewsbury and Mildmay, 10th June 1583; Record Office.

was at this time a prisoner in the hands of the English faction, Mary could not fail to conclude that some fresh piece of deception was intended. She accordingly informed Shrewsbury that she was much grieved at the resolution of her sister queen; she had from the first proposed and intended that she, as well as Elizabeth, should send an envoy to Scotland to arrange all matters of detail, but that "if the Queen of England now sent alone thither, she could not but hold the treaty as broken."[1]

At the same time Mildmay, who does not appear to have been acquainted with the secret views of the Council, wrote to Walsingham expressing his surprise that the offers of Mary were not at once accepted.[2]

But in consequence of the firm attitude of Mary a change of plans became inevitable, and Elizabeth hastened to inform her that for the present she should not send any one to Scotland.[3] This change of tactics is easily explained. Although we have every reason to believe that a majority of the Council, with Burghley at their head, were decidedly opposed to the liberation of the Scottish queen, they had no desire to bring the negotiations to a close. So long as they could amuse her with fallacious hopes, they were enabled to reply to any representations made by foreign powers, that a treaty was in progress which was intended to restore

[1] Record Office; Shrewsbury and Mildmay to Walsingham, of 15th and 17th June.

[2] Mildmay to Walsingham, 17th June; Record Office. Mildmay expresses surprise that matters being in so critical a state in Scotland, "and this woman offering so much to her majesty, there is no more regard had to it."

[3] Walsingham to Shrewsbury, 18th June; ibid.

her to liberty. It did not, therefore, suit the purpose of Burghley and his friends to allow the negotiations to drop, although, from a paper preserved in the Record Office, we may conclude that it was not their intention to allow their mistress to come to terms with the Queen of Scots if they could prevent it.

This paper,[1] although not in Burghley's handwriting, bears strong internal evidence of having been composed, or at least inspired, by him. It enumerates, according to his usual practice, first the "commodities," and then the "discommodities," to be anticipated from the proposed treaty. Among the latter we find the following: "That her majesty, having detained the Scottish queen so many years, shall, by her enlargement, notify unto the world that she had no just ground to keep her so long." It was further stated that "the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh will show to the world that her majesty doth doubt her own title without a release from the Queen of Scots, and that her majesty doth enter into this new treaty by fear of peril and of quarrels that may be made by way of Scotland."

But the last and most material object is stated thus: "To treat with the Queen of Scots were prejudicial to the young king, and if *her majesty may treat and conclude with him that were best and most sure;* and so the treaty with that queen not necessary, *and she may remain as she doth.*" [2]

The conclusion, therefore, at which the Council arrived, was that a separate treaty should be made with

[1] It bears date the 2d of October 1583, several months after the visit of Beale and Mildmay to Sheffield.

[2] Record Office, *ubi supra.*

the young King of Scots, and that his mother should be detained in hopeless captivity. We shall find in the sequel that this advice was followed to the letter.

It is abundantly clear from the correspondence of Beale, Mildmay, and Shrewsbury, that Mary was at this time sincerely desirous of coming to terms with Elizabeth; and it is no less clear that Elizabeth's ministers, or at least a majority of them, were opposed to the release of a princess whom they knew they had grievously wronged, and whose possible accession to the English crown they could not but regard with just alarm.

For some years the Court of France had paid little regard to the affairs of Scotland; but in consequence of the captivity of the young king, two envoys were despatched to Edinburgh to watch the progress of events, and, if possible, to restore the old alliance between the two countries.[1] M. Fénelon, whose knowledge of British politics probably surpassed that of any of his countrymen, and who, during his long residence in England, had won the respect of all parties, was chosen to represent the king, and he was joined in Scotland by M. Maineville, who was an adherent of the house of Guise. The arrival of these diplomatists in Scotland alarmed Elizabeth, and she immediately despatched one of her secretaries, William Davison,[2] who afterwards acted a prominent part in the history of the times, to assist Bowes in watching and counteracting them. It was the object of the French Court to recover, if possible, the influence it had exercised in Scotland since the days of Charlemagne.[3] But the effort was made too late; in other words, the change

[1] Tytler, viii. 125. [2] Ibid. [3] Cheruel, p. 2.

of circumstances, and, above all, the spread of the new religion, rendered the attempt impracticable. The struggle of the factions, however, was renewed; and as Henry was more liberal with his money than Elizabeth, who still persisted in keeping to herself the Lennox estates, the French were still hopeful of ultimate success.

While the two parties were struggling for ascendancy, a deputation from Scotland arrived in London. It consisted of a certain Colonel Stewart,[1] who had become a great favourite with the king, John Colville, a brother of the Laird of Cleish, and David Lindsay, the minister of Leith. Stewart and his colleagues were quite prepared, in the diplomatic language of the day, "to run the English course," provided Elizabeth would give up the Lennox succession, or grant an equivalent in money to their master; and Walsingham earnestly advised her to satisfy the reasonable demands of the Scots.[2] He was well aware of the dangers which threatened his mistress from the side of France, and of the importance at this time of defeating French diplomacy in Scotland. But Elizabeth was blind to everything except to the Lennox estates, which she would upon no account give up, and for which she offered no equivalent. In order perhaps to counteract the effect of Elizabeth's short-sighted parsimony, Leicester entertained Stewart and his colleagues in the most sumptuous manner.[3] But they came in

[1] Castelnau describes him as a poor adventurer, the natural son of some nobleman.—Castlenau to Catherine de Medici, 24th May 1583; Cheruel, 249. Calderwood says that Stewart was first a "cloutter of old shoes:" that he afterwards went to the Low Countries as a common soldier.—Vol. iv. 448.

[2] Walsingham to Bowes, 29th May; Record Office.

[3] Castelnau; Lettres diplomatique in Cheruel.

quest of something more substantial, and they returned to Scotland offended to the last degree with the result of their mission.

The consequences of Elizabeth's obstinacy soon became apparent. James had for a period of ten months been in the hands of the conspirators of Ruthven; but, by the contrivance of Colonel Stewart, he made his escape on the 27th of June, and hastening from Falkland to St Andrews, was there joined by the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Marischal, Crawford, Montrose, March, and Rothes. Gowrie, who had induced the king to grant him a pardon for his treason, also repaired to St Andrews. His confederates, Angus, Mar, and Glammis, retired in haste to their estates.

Mr Froude states that in consequence of this fresh revolution, Elizabeth was thrown into a state of the utmost alarm, and that, "perplexed and penitent too late, she fled from counsel to counsel, cursing the changeableness of the Scots, as if she had given them cause for constancy. *Secretary Beale went again to Sheffield, carrying proposals, ignominious now, because extorted by fear, to go on with the treaty. Elizabeth might have spared herself the humiliation. In the exulting confidence of expected triumph, the Queen of Scots refused now to be bound by her past promises.*"[1]

The passage we have marked in italics contains not one, but a series of extraordinary mistakes, as may be readily seen from the authority cited in its support. That authority is a letter of Castelnau addressed to the King of France, dated the 31st July, to which is appended a summary of the negotiations that had taken place between Mary on the one part, and Beale

[1] Vol. xi. 589.

and Mildmay on the other, in the previous month of June, and to which reference has been already made. Mr Froude has obviously been misled by the date of Castelnau's letter. But if he had examined the paper subjoined to it, he would have found that the discussions on the treaty commenced on *the 1st of June*,[1] —that is, a few days after the arrival of Mildmay at Sheffield Castle; and we know that they terminated by the middle of that month, when James was still a prisoner in the hands of the Ruthven conspirators. That on hearing of his escape Elizabeth in her alarm once more sent Beale to Sheffield, and that Mary "in the exulting confidence of expected triumph refused to be bound by her promises," are all pure fictions. Beale had left Sheffield Castle before the king's escape; nor did he return thither until negotiations were renewed in the following year.[2]

[1] "Les dicts députez arrivèrent icy le premier de juing," &c.—Teulet, iii. 231. This paper was probably drawn up and sent by M. Nau, Mary's French secretary, to Castelnau. The concluding portion of it shows clearly that it referred only to the negotiations in the month of June; for it describes the proposal of Elizabeth to send an envoy to Scotland, the objections of Mary to that proposal, and its consequent withdrawal by Elizabeth.—Teulet, iii. 237.

[2] We have distinct proof that Mary did not withdraw the offers she had made to Beale and Mildmay. In a letter which she wrote to the French ambassador after she had heard of her son's escape, she says she had heard nothing of the treaty since the departure of Beale; and she requests Castlenau to find out, if possible, the real intentions of Elizabeth regarding it, and also her opinion on the late events in Scotland. She further suggests to Castelnau that he might give Elizabeth a hint, *as if from himself*, that if she did not come to a speedy decision on the matter, she (Mary) might consider herself no longer bound by her proposals. "Poursuivez, je vous prie, *mais comme de vous memes*, et non sur aucune nouvelle instance que j'en face, de scavoir particulièrement la finale résolution de la royne d'Angleterre sur les articles du dit traicté par moy ja convenu avec ses dépputez, lui remonstrant qu'elle ne peult moins que de me descharger entièrement de mes offres et ouvertures si elle ne les veult accepter et passer oultre à une prompte exécution d'icelles." She

Mr Froude further states that on the return of Beale from Sheffield, Walsingham cynically remarked that his mistress might go further, and replace Mary Stewart in Scotland. There was in reality no cynicism expressed or implied by Walsingham. He seriously advised Elizabeth to come to terms with the Scottish queen on the conditions she had offered; and we shall find that at a later period he repeated his advice. The chief secretary possessed in an eminent degree the qualities in which his mistress was so glaringly deficient. He was prompt and decided alike in council and in action; and he was no doubt of opinion that, looking at the threatening aspect of affairs both at home and abroad, it was less dangerous to liberate the Scottish queen on the terms she proposed, than either to retain her in captivity or to put her to death. Excepting her most rabid enemies, no one can now doubt the soundness of this opinion.

But instead of listening to his advice, Elizabeth insisted upon him proceeding immediately to Scotland, to repair the mischief she might so easily have prevented. Walsingham was most reluctant to undertake the mission; but his mistress would listen to no excuse, and the secretary arrived in Edinburgh on the 1st of September.

On the discomfiture of the Ruthven conspirators, the Earl of Arran had resumed his ascendancy at Court; and he regarded with just suspicion the un-

also requested Castelnau to ascertain, if possible, the views of Burghley and Walsingham on the subject of the treaty.—Mary to Castelnau, 22d July 1583; Labanoff, v. 358, 359. So far, therefore, from making the revolution in Scotland a pretext for breaking off the treaty, Mary obviously hoped to induce Elizabeth to proceed with it in consequence of that event.

expected visit of the English secretary. The cold reception given to him by James was no doubt the result of the favourite's advice; and when Walsingham, in obedience to his instructions, attempted to point out to the young king the danger of displacing those counsellors who were friendly to Elizabeth, he promptly replied that he was an independent sovereign, and that he would govern his subjects as he thought fit.[1] Satisfied that his mistress had sent him on a fruitless errand, and that James was entirely under the influence of Arran and Colonel Stewart, the secretary remained a very short time in Scotland. But he stayed long enough to sow the seeds of a fresh plot. By means of bribes, administered by Bowes, a new conspiracy was organised to carry off the king. But it was detected by the keen eye of Arran, who took prompt and effective measures to secure the safety of his patron; and although one evening a body of horsemen were seen hovering near Falkland, their leaders did not venture to approach the palace on ascertaining the preparations that had been made for their reception.[2]

James was meanwhile corresponding with the Duke of Guise,[3] who had by this time, in concert with the refugees of Paris, matured his plans. Charles Paget,[4] a brother of the Lord Paget, had been sent over to England in disguise to ascertain the most favourable spot for the landing of the expedition. The coast of Sussex had been first suggested, but on further consideration Lancashire was fixed upon as the most

[1] Walsingham to Elizabeth, 11th September; Record Office.
[2] Tytler, viii. 158.
[3] James to Duke of Guise; Teulet, v. 304.
[4] Ibid., 312.

eligible spot. It was one where the invaders would be least expected, and where the bulk of the population was Catholic. It was determined that the Duke de Mayenne, the younger brother of Guise, should effect a landing on the south coast, while he himself should steer for Morecambe Bay[1] with 4000 veterans, to be furnished by the army of the Netherlands. It was calculated that he would there be joined by the leading nobility of the northern counties with a following of 20,000 men.[2] The scheme of the duke, as he himself described it to Charles Paget, was simply to restore the Catholic faith in England, and to place Mary Stewart on the throne, "which belonged to her of right." Having accomplished these objects, he declared on his honour that he would forthwith withdraw all foreign troops from Britain; and if any portion of them refused to obey, he engaged to join the English forces and compel them to retire.[3]

England was probably saved from an invasion at this time by the explanations thus given by the Duke of Guise. A copy of his letter to Paget was sent to Philip by his ambassador in Paris; and as he entertained certain designs upon England himself, he carefully marked the two passages[4] relating to the placing of Mary Stewart on the throne, and the withdrawal of

[1] The point fixed upon was a small rocky island in the parish of Dalton in Furness, called the Pile of Fouldrey, where there was sufficient anchorage for the largest ships.—Teulet, v. 309.

[2] This number was to be made up of 6000 men from the Borders, including the Maxwells and the retainers of Fernihirst; 4000 under the Dacres, 3000 under Northumberland, 1000 under Westmoreland, 1000 under the Earl of Cumberland, 2000 under Lord Wharton, besides the men of Durham, &c.—See Instruccion para Roma, &c.; Teulet, v. 309.

[3] See Instruccion para Inglaterra de 28 de Agosto 1583; Teulet, v. 312.

[4] They are both underlined by Philip's own hand.—Ibid.

the foreign troops immediately after that object was accomplished. Upon both points Philip apparently had serious doubts, and until they were removed he could decide on nothing. Guise was ready to embark. The Earl of Westmoreland, the Dacres, Paget, and the other refugees, were eager to return to their respective counties to raise their tenantry and join in the crusade against the heretic queen. But they looked in vain for the Spanish fleet which was to carry them to England; and Elizabeth escaped a danger of which she had not dreamed, and for which at the time she was wholly unprepared.

The reader will naturally ask how Mary was employed at this critical time. If we are to believe M. Froude, she was, notwithstanding her shattered health, eager only for war. In the words of this popular historian, the Duke of Guise[1] "was reproached *day by day* for his inaction by letters from the Queen of Scots," who is represented as fretting with impatience for the appearance of her kinsman at the head of his invading army, to throw open her prison-gates and place her on her rival's throne.

We have here an instructive example of the mode in which Mr Froude, when at a loss for facts to suit his purpose, supplies them from his imagination. He does not refer his readers even to one of the many reproachful letters which Mary, he says, addressed to her cousin at this time. And he pays a poor compliment to the understanding of the Scottish queen by supposing that she would have preferred the extremely hazardous alternative of an invasion to a peaceful settlement of her differences with Elizabeth. Mary knew well

[1] Vol. xi. 605.

that her life would be placed in imminent peril by the landing of a foreign force in England. She probably felt that as the Duke of Guise was, next to her son, the nearest kinsman she had in the world, she could not reject his proffered aid; but that she sought it in the shape of an invasion and an insurrection, nowhere appears. Still less is there any proof of the outrageous assertion of Mr Froude that she was at this time reproaching her cousin "day by day" for his inaction. So far from this being the case, we believe that not a single letter can be produced from Mary to the Duke of Guise on the subject of the invasion.[1] If Mr Froude has discovered any such, it must be in some repository accessible only to himself, and which he is bound in honour to conceal from the knowledge of his readers.

The absence of any such letters may probably lead us to conclude that the details connected with the invasion were purposely concealed from the Scottish queen. No object could be gained by engaging her in a correspondence on the subject; and considering how closely she was watched, and how frequently her letters were intercepted, the risk of discovery would have been enormously increased. The Duke of Guise was not a conspirator of the Ridolphi class, and he would naturally take care not to involve his cousin in any unnecessary danger. This is not mere matter of conjecture; for we find that some months afterwards several letters of the duke to the Queen of Scots were intercepted, opened, and read by Shrewsbury and Beale. But as no complaint was made as to their contents, we

[1] None are to be found in Labanoff, Teulet, or any other collection of Mary's letters.

may safely conclude that they were wholly silent on the dangerous subject of the invasion.

The persecution of the English Catholics was meanwhile continued with unabated rigour. To entrap the friends and adherents of the Queen of Scots, her enemies had recourse to the most odious devices. Camden states that they did not scruple to counterfeit letters in her name, and to send them by some unknown hand to the houses of the Catholic gentry ; while spies and informers found their way into every society, and reported with due exaggeration any unguarded words that might fall from an unsuspecting host. Arden, a gentlemen of ancient family in Warwickshire, seems to have fallen a victim to these devices. He had incurred the enmity of the Lord of Kenilworth by speaking of him as an upstart and an adulterer ;[1] and at Leicester's instigation he was arrested, tried, and executed for treason upon the evidence of a friend, who when upon the rack admitted in his agony that he had heard Arden say he wished the queen was in heaven. A son-in-law of Arden named Somerville, who appears to have been insane, was sent to Newgate on the same charge, and was soon afterwards found strangled in his cell.[2] A more important victim was Francis Throgmorton, a nephew of the celebrated Sir Nicolas. Both his father and his uncle had all along favoured the claims of the Queen of Scots, and Francis was at this time one of the most enthusiastic of her English adherents. He was in all the secrets of the Paris refugees ; and upon his arrest at his house in London, clear evidence was found of their plans and of the intended invasion of the Duke of Guise.[3]

[1] Camden, 257. [2] Ibid., 257. [3] Ibid., 261.

In consequence of this alarming discovery, and of confessions extorted from him on the rack, which, however, he retracted before his execution, innumerable fresh arrests were made. Northumberland, the brother of the attainted earl, was sent to the Tower; and whether he died there by his own hand or by that of an assassin, is still a matter of dispute.[1] The Earl of Arundel, eldest son of the late Duke of Norfolk, was also arrested; and he died in the Tower after a rigorous imprisonment of eleven years.[2] A fresh sacrifice of priests was, under the circumstances, deemed expedient. Seven were accordingly selected for the purpose, who, after being duly tortured, were first hung and then disembowelled alive in the presence of an admiring crowd of orthodox spectators.[3]

Mendoza, who, according to the custom of the age, had taken advantage of his position as ambassador to foment intrigues against the sovereign to whom he was accredited, had been seriously compromised by the confessions of Throgmorton. Elizabeth's ministers, who had systematically practised the same disreputable devices in France, in Scotland, and in the Netherlands, were, or affected to be, extremely indignant at the discovery. Mendoza was summoned to attend the Council, where a scene ensued of a still more stormy character than that which had preceded the departure of his predecessor. After mutual recriminations of the bitterest kind, the ambassador demanded his passports, declaring as he took his leave that, as they were not satisfied with him as a minister of peace, they should soon have an opportunity of testing his

[1] See note in Lingard, vi. 192; and reply of Froude, xii. 116, note.
[2] Lingard, vi. 192. [3] Froude, xi. 619.

qualities as a minister of war.[1] He immediately set out for Paris, where he resided for many years, ever ready to aid to the utmost of his power in any scheme for the overthrow of Elizabeth.

Her ministers were at this time practising in Scotland the very same devices which they had condemned so loudly in Mendoza. They were instigating Angus and Mar to overthrow the favourite, and once more make a prisoner of the king. Gowrie, who had been a conspirator since the days of Riccio's murder, could not resist the temptation of a fresh plot. In order the better to deceive the king, who had granted him a full pardon for his share in "the Raid of Ruthven," he obtained a licence to go abroad. But he delayed his journey under one pretext or another, while he was secretly arranging with his confederates the plan of the insurrection. But the new favourite was a man of a very different stamp from his predecessor Aubigny. He had gained, through the treachery of some of the conspirators, a full knowledge of their plans; and he not only prepared to meet them, but he privately sent a message to Elizabeth assuring her that she was the dupe of men whose resolutions changed from month to month, and who were traitors to each other as well as to their prince.[2] Thus warned, Elizabeth refused to commit herself in writing to the conspirators, though earnestly entreated to do so. Arran had determined not to interfere until they had placed themselves in his power by some overt act of

[1] Mignet, ii. 137, who quotes Mendoza's despatch preserved at Simancas.

[2] Letter of John Colville to his brother, 16th April 1584; Record Office.

treason. Having privately desired his friends to hold themselves in readiness, he remained quietly at Falkland with the king, until he ascertained that Angus, Mar, and Glammis had entered Stirling with a body of horse, and taken possession of the castle. He then despatched Colonel Stewart with a hundred troopers to arrest the real chief of the conspiracy, Gowrie, who was at his house at Dundee. After some resistance on the part of his retainers, the earl was captured and sent a prisoner to Edinburgh. Arran now called on his adherents to take the field, and no less than twelve thousand men obeyed the summons. At the head of this force, the king prepared to march against the rebels at Stirling. But their plans had been completely disconcerted by the promptitude of Arran. The unexpected arrest of Gowrie, and the numbers and the loyalty of their opponents, left them no alternative between submission and flight. They chose the safer course; and accompanied by several of the clergy, their accomplices in rebellion and their consolers in defeat,[1] they made the best of their way to Newcastle, where, some twenty years before, first Murray and then Morton had fled, like them to escape the penalties of treason. Elizabeth treated the fugitives precisely as she had treated their predecessors; she had abetted them in their rebellion, and when they failed she cast them off.

Mr Froude, who seems to entertain an unconquerable antipathy to every one bearing the name of

[1] Angus and his friends were accompanied in their flight by Andrew Melvill and others of the clergy, who ministered to the spiritual wants of their noble patrons in their exile. Angus, who was still a young man of two or three and twenty, seems to have been especially attentive to his religious duties.—See Burton, History of Scotland, v. 487.

Stewart, with the sole exception of the Regent Murray, informs his readers that after the rebels fled from Stirling the Earl of Gowrie was arraigned before a court extemporised for his trial, of "which Colonel Stewart,[1] who had taken him prisoner, was president." This is an unaccountable mistake; for so far from presiding at Gowrie's trial, Stewart's name does not once occur in either of the two contemporary reports which remain of the proceedings. According to these he was neither on the bench nor on the jury, nor even a witness in the case.[2]

As to Gowrie's guilt there can be no question, and he met his fate with the resolution of a man who had passed his life in the midst of danger. Anticipating the decision of the jury, he called for a cup of wine when they retired to consider their verdict, and bade his attendants conceal the news of his death from his wife, who had just been confined of her thirteenth child. He was beheaded on the day of his trial, declaring, like his old accomplice Morton, that he was guiltless of the crime for which he suffered.[3]

Some two years before Gowrie's death, the English ambassador, Sir Robert Bowes, discovered that the famous casket containing the letters and sonnets alleged to have been written by the Queen of Scots was in the earl's hands. Elizabeth expressed a strong desire to obtain possession of them, no doubt with the

[1] Hist., xi. 648.

[2] We have two reports of Gowrie's trial, one in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, and another in the Cotton Library, by an eyewitness, and printed in the Bannatyne Miscellany. According to both of these, John Graham, Justice-Clerk, was the presiding judge, and the Earl of Arran was on the jury; but no mention is made of Colonel Stewart.

[3] Cotton MSS.; Calig., c. viii. 24.

view, should an occasion arise, of reviving the old scandals against Mary. But Gowrie positively refused to part with the casket[1] and its contents. Bowes tried bribes and promises in vain, but Gowrie, like his old confederates Murray and Morton, stuck resolutely to the casket. They had all been ready enough to sell anything else, their country and themselves included, but nothing would induce them to part with what they chose to call the proofs of their sovereign's guilt, but which even at this distance of time can be shown to be a mass of ill-concocted forgeries. This is the last authentic reference which we possess as to the history of those famous documents. We have no evidence that they were in existence after Gowrie's death. Whether they were eventually destroyed by him, or whether, as the enemies of the queen insinuate, they were destroyed by her son, are matters of pure conjecture, upon which much ingenuity has been wasted, without the smallest practical result.

[1] See the Bowes Correspondence, p. 236, 240, 253, 264.

CHAPTER XXII.

ARRAN AND THE MASTER OF GRAY.

THE soldier of fortune who by his own unaided energies had now become virtually master of Scotland, soon discovered that he was an object of general envy and distrust. Mary, as well as Elizabeth, regarded him with avowed suspicion; and the diplomatists both of France and England held aloof from a man whose character and objects were still but partially developed, and who, they knew, was not to be purchased except at his own price. He was hated by the nobles, who affected to regard him as an upstart; and he was reviled by the clergy, because, although a Protestant by birth and connections, he was the first man in Scotland who after the Reformation attempted to curb their insolence and curtail their power.[1] They revenged themselves as might have been expected, by

[1] A Parliament was summoned immediately after Gowrie's death, in which the authority of the king was declared supreme in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as temporal. No person of whatever quality or profession was to presume, under heavy penalties, to utter any slanderous words against the king or any member of the Council. All ecclesiastical assemblies, general or provincial, were prohibited from meeting, and the whole spiritual jurisdiction was declared to be vested in the bishops.—See Tytler, viii. 177.

loading him with every kind of abuse. They denounced him as a profligate, a tyrant, and an atheist.[1] But his profligacy consisted in marrying the Countess of March, who had divorced her husband for a very sufficient cause.[2] His tyranny meant that he had reduced the entire kingdom to obedience, and his atheism that he preferred Episcopacy to Presbyterianism, and resolutely resisted the pretensions of the Kirk to interfere in the affairs of State. That like other political adventurers in that age, Arran was greedy of power and riches, and somewhat unscrupulous as to the means by which he obtained them, may be assumed; but he is not charged with any such crimes as the surrender and sale of Northumberland by Mar and Morton, and their still more infamous offer to murder their queen for a sufficient bribe. Nor was he, like Murray and Lennox, a traitor to the sovereign who had raised them from the dust. Whatever may have been his errors or his crimes, no one has alleged that Arran was unfaithful to the prince to whom he owed his elevation.

The favourite was well aware of the dangers by which he was surrounded. Although, with the death of Gowrie, all active opposition to his government had ceased, he saw that without foreign aid he could not hope to consolidate his power; and as his chief enemies, Angus, Mar, and the Hamiltons, had taken refuge in England, where they were secretly supported by Elizabeth, he naturally, in the first instance, turned to France. About the time of Gowrie's capture, he accordingly sent Lord Seton on a special mission to Henry the Third. Seton was desired to remind the

[1] Calderwood, vols. iii. and iv. [2] Robertson, iii. 403.

French king of the ancient alliance between the two crowns, which dated from the days of Charlemagne; of the services which in times past Scotland had rendered to his ancestors; of the friendless position of the young King of Scots, who even in his mother's womb had been the sport of rival factions;—and, in conclusion, he referred to the very critical situation in which his mother was now placed, and for whom, the envoy added, "her son was not only willing to sacrifice everything he had in the world, but even his life."[1]

It is highly probable that Seton exceeded his instructions in thus warmly advocating the cause of the imprisoned queen, for Arran could not at this time have seriously desired her restoration. But in Castelnau, Seton now found an energetic supporter of his mistress. On his first arrival in England the French ambassador had taken comparatively little interest in her fortunes; but his long-continued correspondence with Mary had taught him to form the highest estimate of her character and conduct, and he made no secret of his opinion.[2] The zeal with which upon every occasion he spoke on her behalf at length provoked the jealousy of the queen-mother. She even took occasion to remind him of his instructions,[3] which were, it seems at this time, simply to see

[1] See Marie Stuart et Catherine de Medicis, par Cheruel, p. 115. Mr Tytler does not appear to have been aware of this mission of Lord Seton.

[2] "Je ne sache pas," he said, writing to the Archbishop of St Andrews (Patrick Adamson), "cœur au monde qui ne dût être ému à lui vouloir bien pour sa vertu et prudence et patience."—See Cheruel, 112.

[3] "Pour le regard de la reine d'Ecosse, ma belle fille, vous savez la charge que le roi mon segineur et fils vous a toujours donnée et moi aussi, *de faire pour elle les affaires de son douaire tout ce que pourrez et pour intercéder aussi envers la reine d'Angleterre, à ce qu'elle recût bon traitement et commodité de sa personne.* Aussi, nous assurons nous

that her dower was duly paid, and that she was honourably treated by the Queen of England. To seek the relief of her daughter-in-law from captivity was, in Catherine's opinion, no part of the duty of the ambassador; and Henry, now more than ever the tool of his mother, was too glad to escape the responsibility of ruling his distracted kingdom to interfere. It is hardly necessary to say that the cold and pusillanimous diplomacy of Catherine and her son had a most disastrous effect upon the Scottish queen, for it encouraged her enemies to proceed to all extremities against her. Had Castelnau been energetically supported by the Court of France at this time, Elizabeth would have found it impossible to resist any longer the demand of Mary for her liberty.

Certain vague promises were meanwhile made to Seton, and Catherine proposed a French marriage for the King of Scots; but both he and Arran wanted money, and Henry, impoverished by his reckless extravagance, had none to give. It was in vain that Castelnau sought to impress upon Catherine and her son the importance of preserving the old alliance with Scotland.[1] The embassy of Seton led to no result, except to convince Arran that no substantial aid was to be obtained from France; and he resolved, without loss of time, to try his fortune in another quarter.

Elizabeth was still inclined to regard as her enemy

que vous n'y avez rien omis, et que vous n'avez *excédé l'intention du roi mon seigneur et fils et de moi*, qui suis d'avis que vous leviez à la dite dame reine d'Angleterre l'opinion qu'elle a de vous au contraire."—Catherine to Castelnau, of May 1584; Cheruel, 113.

[1] "Je suis et serai toujours d'opinion qu'il n'y a nulle alliance au monde que la France doive avoir plus chère que celle de ce petit pays d'Ecosse."—See Cheruel, 111.

the man who had brought Morton to the block; and Walsingham, ever the advocate of decided measures, recommended her, instead of listening to the overtures of Arran, to furnish the exiled lords in England with men and money sufficient to enable them to overthrow the favourite. Burghley, on the other hand,[1] was inclined to treat with Arran, or at least to listen to his offers, before resorting to force; and Elizabeth finally adopted his opinion. She had sent Davison to Scotland shortly after Gowrie's execution, and he had found both Arran and the king determinedly opposed to the restoration of the rebel lords. Davison further informed his mistress that he was satisfied that James and his mother were at this time on the most friendly footing; that he ever spoke of her in terms of respectful affection; and that, in short, although she was a prisoner in England, her influence over her son as well as his chief nobility was still as great as ever.[2]

This alarming intelligence at length induced Elizabeth to consent to treat with Arran; and it was finally arranged that he should have an interview with Lord Hunsdon on the Border. Foulden Kirk, near Berwick, was the place appointed for the meeting; and, on the 14th of August, Arran arrived there at the head of an immense retinue,[3] among whom were various of the leading nobles of his faction. The two representatives of their respective sovereigns alone entered the church, and Hunsdon appears to have formed a very favourable opinion of Arran, who no doubt did his best to gain the confidence of Elizabeth's cousin.

[1] Instructions to Lord Hunsdon; Record Office, June 30, 1584.

[2] Davison to Walsingham, May 28; Record Office.

[3] "His retinue amounted to five thousand horse, and he was attended by five members of the Privy Council."—Tytler, viii. 192.

"If I can judge of a wise man," he wrote to Lord Burghley, "I think him one, and one of the best tongues that I have heard. He has a princely presence; Latin is rife with him, and sometimes Greek."[1]

The principal subject of discussion between them was the restoration of the exiled lords in England; and Hunsdon, in obedience to his instructions, strongly recommended that they should be pardoned. But Arran replied that for the present this was impossible, as he had clear proof that they were even then plotting against his life, and devising new schemes to regain possession of the young king. With regard to his mother, not a word appears to have been said; for Hunsdon had no instructions on the subject, and Arran was not in favour of her restoration, which would certainly have entailed upon him the loss of the Hamilton estates. But although Hunsdon interceded for the exiled lords in vain, the two noblemen parted on the best terms, and with profound and probably sincere professions on the part of Arran of amity to the Queen of England.

During the interview, which lasted upwards of five hours, the attendants of both lords had remained outside the church, and it was observed that both seemed highly satisfied with the result.[2] Before they parted, Arran introduced to Lord Hunsdon a young man,

[1] Hunsdon to Burghley, 14th August; Record Office. A nephew of Burghley who accompanied Hunsdon spoke of Arran in nearly the same terms: "For the man surely he carrieth a princely presence and gait, goodly of personage, representing a brave countenance of a captain of middle age, very resolute, very wise and learned, and one of the best-spoken men that ever I heard—a man worthy the queen's favour if it please her."—Sir Edward Hoby to Lord Burghley, 15th August; Record Office.

[2] Sir Edward Hoby to Dr Parry, 15th August; Record Office.

whose singularly handsome person and pleasing manners could not fail to attract attention wherever he appeared. But never did nature play a more fantastic trick than when she fashioned this model of manly beauty; for, fruitful in wickedness though Scotland was, she produced in this age no more consummate scoundrel than the Master of Gray.[1] Born and bred a Catholic, he had, like many of his countrymen, spent some years in France. Professing the utmost devotion to the cause of Mary, he had won the confidence of the Duke of Guise and her other partisans in Paris, who not only intrusted him with all their secrets, but loaded him with presents when he took his departure.[2] On his arrival in Scotland he found that Arran was supreme; but being well received by the young king, to whom a handsome person and lively manners were ever the best recommendation, it is probable that Gray soon formed the design of supplanting the favourite. At the present time he affected to regard him as his patron; and although Arran, with his varied experience of men, may have more than half suspected his profuse expressions of fidelity, he had too much reliance on himself to exhibit any jealousy of a youth who seemed better fitted, from his years and his appearance, to be a lady's page, than a rival in the deep and dangerous game which he had hitherto played with such uninterrupted success.

Gray was the bearer of a private letter from the

[1] The eldest son of Lord Gray.

[2] "He hath himself confessed to have had at his coming out of France a cupboard of plate given him by the Spanish ambassador resident there, to the value of five or six thousand crowns, besides other gifts from the Duke of Guise, and other of the queen's friends."—Davison to Hatton, 6th Sept. 1584; Harl. MS., No. 291, f. 143.

king to Lord Hunsdon, which he must have taken an opportunity of presenting without the knowledge of Arran. From its contents, which Hunsdon imparted next day to Lord Burghley, we learn the important fact that both Gray and his master were prepared at this time to betray the cause of the unhappy queen; and that James had opened this clandestine correspondence with the English ministers at the instigation of his new favourite it is impossible to doubt. In this letter Hunsdon was informed that Gray was in possession of certain secrets respecting the designs of the English refugees against Elizabeth, but that, as he was about to be sent as ambassador to London, he would himself disclose them to her ministers. Hunsdon lost no time in communicating this unexpected intelligence to Burghley. He described Gray to the lord treasurer as "very young, but wise and discreet. He is no doubt very inward with the Scottish queen, and all her affairs, both in England and France; yea, with the Pope, for he is accounted a Papist. I have written to Mr Secretary (Walsingham) for a safe-conduct to him; *but nothing of the cause of his coming*, but only to her majesty and to your lordship. If Mr Secretary be slow for this safe-conduct, I pray your lordship further it, for the matter requires no delay."[1] Burghley and his mistress were therefore alone acquainted with the secret of Gray's meditated treachery.

In the course of this summer a M. Maron[2] arrived from France on business connected with the property of the Queen of Scots. But he was not allowed to

[1] Hunsdon to Burghley, 14th August; Record Office.

[2] Mr Froude calls him "Mason," xi. 655.

proceed to Sheffield Castle alone. William Wade, a member of the Council, was sent along with him, under the pretence of reopening the endless negotiations for the liberty of Mary, but in reality to play the part of spy. Wade had just returned from Madrid, whither Elizabeth, alarmed at the consequences that might ensue from the expulsion of Mendoza, had sent him with an explanation of her conduct. But Philip refused even to see her envoy; and he seems to have vented his chagrin on the prisoner of Sheffield Castle, whom he perhaps regarded as Philip's representative in England, and whom he seems to have treated with studied rudeness. Mary resented his insolence with becoming spirit, and complained that during his visit he had intercepted and detained her letters. Some of these, we know, were from her cousin the Duke of Guise; and if they had contained any matter implicating her, they would certainly have been preserved. As both Wade and Shrewsbury were silent[1] on the subject, we may conclude that they had exercised their curiosity in vain.

After Wade's departure, Beale reappeared again with fresh proposals; and Mr Froude is seriously of opinion that Elizabeth and her Council were at last in earnest, and that Mary might have obtained her liberty on advantageous terms. But by this time she had heard of Gowrie's overthrow, and of the flight of his accomplices to England. She now, according to Mr Froude, anticipated a speedy triumph over her enemies. "The one absorbing hope of her life was to see those who had humbled her rolling, all of them, in the dust at

[1] See Wade and Shrewsbury's report; Record Office—Mary Queen of Scots. Froude, xi. 658.

her feet. The least gleam of success she construed into a turn of the tide; and the news of the defeat and flight of the confederates, and the execution of Gowrie, scattered her despondency and filled her with dreams of coming triumph." He represents her, in fact, as so elated with her prospects at this time, that "Elizabeth might as well have abdicated as have yielded" to her demands.

At the risk of wearying the reader with the subject of these interminable negotiations, we shall briefly state, in Mary's own words, the substance of what passed between her and Beale on this occasion. "The result," she says, "of my negotiations with Beale, is a proposal on his part to renew the treaty of last year, with two fresh conditions: the first, that I intercede with my son on behalf of the lords who have fled to England, so that they may be pardoned and restored; the second, that I write to the Duke of Guise, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Bishop of Ross, to abandon any enterprise they may have in hand against the Queen of England. I have agreed to everything, with this sole condition, that the two fresh stipulations shall be regarded as accessory to and dependent upon the execution of the treaty; and that, with regard to my liberty, I should prefer to reside out of England; or if I remained here, that more favourable terms should be offered than those proposed last year."[1] After the systematic duplicity with which she had been treated, Mary was certainly justified in insisting upon these very reasonable conditions. But they did not suit the views of Elizabeth. She probably hoped, through Mary's means, to obtain the restoration of the

[1] See her letter to Castelnau of 22d May; Labanoff, v. 477.

exiled lords; and having accomplished her object and restored the English influence in Scotland, she could easily find some fresh pretext for breaking off the treaty. Mary had been entrapped on other occasions by similar devices, and because she was now upon her guard, Elizabeth accused her of bad faith.[1] Thus ended the last of negotiations between the Queen of Scots and Beale. The next time they met was at Fotheringay, whither he was sent to announce that sentence of death had been passed upon her.

On the 10th of June of this year died Elizabeth's worthless suitor, the Duke of Alençon; and exactly one month later, the Prince of Orange was assassinated by a youthful fanatic, who saw in the hero of the Netherlands revolt the arch-enemy of his religion. A thrill of horror shot through Protestant Europe when the tidings of the murder spread abroad; and loud and deep were the denunciations against the Papists, who were everywhere supposed to have approved of the crime. In the fierce controversy which was raging far and wide between the old religion and the new, the belief was natural. But to this sweeping charge the Catholics might reply that it was not they who commenced the horrid practice of secret murder, and that Cardinal Beaton, David Riccio, and the Duke of Guise all fell by the hands of Protestant assassins. They might add that Knox exulted quite as much over those victims of religious zeal as Philip did over the murder of William the Silent. The death of that great man was mourned as an irreparable loss by his struggling countrymen, and was productive of important consequences as well to them as to the neighbouring States.

[1] Elizabeth to Mary; Record Office.

The Earl of Shrewsbury had been intrusted with the custody of the Queen of Scots for upwards of fourteen years, and he now earnestly desired to be relieved of his charge. In addition to the heavy responsibility of guarding his prisoner, he was involved at this time in a series of domestic broils, which rendered him the most miserable of men.[1] His wife, a scheming, avaricious, and malignant woman, had, during the first years of her imprisonment, paid assiduous court to the Scottish queen, and Mary had undertaken the education of one of her granddaughters, who became her constant companion for many years.[2] But

[1] In a letter to Leicester, the earl describes some of his domestic grievances in the following terms: "For my son (Gilbert Talbot), I never dissuaded him from loving his wife, though he hath said he must either forsake me or hate his wife; this he gives out, which is false and untrue. This I think is his duty,—that seeing I have forbad him for coming to *my wicked and malicious wife*, who hath set me at naught in his own hearing, that contrary to my commandment hath both gone and sent unto her daily by his wife's persuasion; yea, and hath both written and carried letters to no mean personages in my wife's behalf. These ill dealings would he have salved by indirect reports, for in my life did I never seek their separation, for the best ways I have to content myself is to think it is *his wife's wicked persuasion* and her mother's together, for I think neither barrel better herring of them both."—August 8, 1584; Lodge, ii. 244.

[2] A letter from Mary to her young friend has been preserved. It is as follows:—

13th September 1583.

"MIGNONE,—J'ay rescu vostre lettre et bons tokens, desquels je vous remercie. Je suis bien ayse que vous portez si bien; demeurez avèques vostre père et mère hardiment ceste saison qu'il vous veullent retenir, car l'ayr et la saison sont si fascheus issi que j'é desjà bien sentu le change de l'ayr de Worsopp ou je ne marchois plus, mays je n'é layssée à commander à mes jambes. Recommandé moy à vostre père et mère bien affectionnement, et à vostre sœur, et à toutes mes connaissances, si il y en a. Je vous feray fayre vostre robe noyre et la vous envoirez, aussitost que je pourray avoir la garniture que j'é mandée à Londres. Voilà tout ce que je vous puis mander pour ceste fois, sinon vous envoyer aultant de bénédictions qu'il i a de jours en l'an, priant Dieu que la sienne ce puisse estendre sur vous et les vostres pour

a marriage between Elizabeth Cavendish, a daughter of the countess by her first husband, and Lord Henry Lennox, a younger brother of Darnley, in the year 1580, seems to have eventually caused a complete breach between the Queen of Scots and the wife of her keeper. Lord Henry and his wife both died soon after their marriage, leaving an only child, the unfortunate Arabella Stewart; and Lady Shrewsbury, ever on the watch for the aggrandisement of her family, began to cherish the notion that her granddaughter Arabella, being descended of royal blood by the father's side, and born in England, was the true heir of Elizabeth, in preference to Mary or her son, who were both aliens by birth. But she was not content with indulging in secret these dreams of future greatness. She sought to hasten the period of their fulfilment by spreading reports of an adulterous intimacy between her husband and the Queen of Scots. The readiness with which this fresh scandal was caught up by her enemies need not surprise us. We have seen that Burghley did not hesitate, some eighteen years before,[1] to impose upon the French ambassador a grossly false and scandalous account of Riccio's murder. To send abroad the story of Lady Shrewsbury was much more justifiable; and it gained, according to Castelnau, a very rapid circulation. It was told, no doubt with due exaggerations, to the Spanish ambassador, to the foreign bankers in London, that they might transmit it to their respective countries; and to every one, in short, whether Protestant

jamais. En haste, ce 13 de Septembre, vostre bien affectionnée maystresse et meilleure amye, Marie R. To my weilbeloved bedfallow, Bess Pierpont."—Labanoff, v. 370.

[1] *Ante*, p. 78, note.

or Catholic, who was likely to aid in spreading the scandal.[1]

The sequel is soon told. On hearing of the stories circulated by Lady Shrewsbury, Mary wrote both to Elizabeth and to the French ambassador demanding an immediate inquiry. But as the scandal was to the last degree gratifying to her enemies, it is probable that she would have complained in vain had not Lord Shrewsbury had an equal interest in exposing the falsehood and malice of his wife. Burghley could have found a hundred pretexts for evading the demands of Mary; but as a peer of the realm, and a peer of the highest rank, Shrewsbury insisted upon a full and searching investigation. Various attempts were made to evade the inquiry, but Shrewsbury was resolute; and after much vexatious delay, the countess, and her two sons by her first marriage, who had aided her in circulating the scandal, were summoned before the Council. They there confessed upon their knees, with many expressions of penitence, that they were slanderers and liars,[2] and that the ridiculous story, which from the vilest motives they had spread abroad, was entirely an invention of their own.

It would have been well if the matter had ended

[1] "On l'a dit à l'ambassadeur d'Espagne, on l'a dit aussi à l'évêque de Saint André, qui m'en a fait plainte; on l'a dit aux banquiers et étrangers pour le mander partout, semant cela parmi les catholiques et les protestants pour vous décrier envers eux. C'est le dernier venin que vos ennemis se sont réservé, n'ayant pu empoisonner votre corps d'envenimer votre reputation."—Castelnau to Mary Stewart, quoted by Cheruel, p. 107, from Bibl. Imp. Coll. Bréquigny, t. 97.

[2] Record Office. It appears that the scandal had spread to Italy. See letter of Anthony Standen, who had been a retainer of Darnley, to the Queen of Scots, dated Florence, 12th October 1584; Labanoff, vii. 162.

here. But it appears that in her correspondence with Elizabeth, Mary had informed the English queen that the Countess of Shrewsbury had spoken of her as well as of herself in the most offensive terms. Elizabeth was eager to know the particulars ; and it is said that Mary, not unwilling to revenge herself upon two women both of whom had certainly given her abundant cause of provocation, minutely detailed all that the one had said of the other. It appears that in her conversations with Mary, Lady Shrewsbury had told the most scandalous tales respecting Elizabeth's intimacies not only with Leicester, but with Sir Christopher Hatton, the Duke of Alençon, and others. In a letter to Elizabeth—written, she says, at her desire —Mary repeats all these details, with others of an equally remarkable kind ; but that it never reached the hands of the English queen seems to be undisputed. Whether it was ever sent is a matter of more uncertainty. The letter, which is preserved at Hatfield, is stated by Prince Labanoff to be in the handwriting [1] of Mary ; but from the fact of its bearing no date,[2] as well as from the silence of contemporary writers respecting it, he thinks it highly probable that it was never sent. The letter may have been written when she was indignant on the one hand at the abominable conduct of Lady Shrewsbury, and on the other at the systematic duplicity of Elizabeth in evading the execution of the treaty. But upon reflection, Mary could hardly fail to perceive that such a letter could never be forgiven by her rival. It may therefore have

[1] See Labanoff, vi. 50.

[2] Very few of Mary's letters are undated.—See Labanoff's collection, *passim*.

been thrown aside, and seized, along with all her other papers, when some eighteen months afterwards she was removed from Chartley to Fotheringay. This would account for the possession of the letter by Lord Burghley and its preservation at Hatfield.

On his first appearance at Court after he had resigned his charge, Elizabeth, ever full of curiosity respecting her prisoner, inquired of Shrewsbury his true opinion of Mary, and in particular whether her word could be relied on. Shrewsbury, afraid apparently of offending his mistress by saying anything in praise of her rival, at first evaded the question; but Elizabeth having insisted in her own peremptory way upon having an answer, he replied that if the Queen of Scots gave her promise upon anything she would not break it.[1] Elizabeth, who never kept a promise in her life, heard Shrewsbury's reply in silence. But it seems to have made a decided impression; for we learn that some days afterwards, on being asked to supply money for the use of some of the seditious clergy who had fled to England with Angus and Mar, she said she would rather trust the Queen of Scotland than embroil herself any more with any of their factions, for they promised everything and did nothing.[2]

It may appear paradoxical to assert that the best friend of Mary in England at this time was Elizabeth. But this seems not only to have been the case, but Mary herself seems to have been aware of it. Although she had frequently and most justly complained of the treatment she had received during her long captivity,

[1] "Qu'il estimoict que sy la dicte royne d'Escosse luy promettoit quelque chose elle ne voldroict violler sa parolle."—Cheruel, Appendix, 339; Castelnau to Henry III., 22d October 1584.

[2] Cheruel, Appendix, 340.

she was induced again and again to place her chief reliance on the friendship of her kinswoman. And it is curious to find that about the time when Elizabeth was declaring that she would rather trust the Queen of Scots than any of the Scottish factions, Mary expressed herself in very similar terms of Elizabeth. In the autumn of this year Mary bade farewell to Sheffield Castle. Sir Ralph Sadler and John Somers, a diplomatist with whom she had been acquainted in her early days in France, had been appointed jointly to the office which Shrewsbury had resigned; and she accompanied her new keepers to Wingfield Manor, which she had occupied for a short time fifteen years before. During the journey, which was performed on horseback, she conversed freely with Somers on her past history and future prospects. She spoke with the utmost affection of her son, in whom she reposed unbounded confidence, and who of late had promised to be guided in everything by her. But she added that she had no wish to take his place and resume the government of Scotland. If she had her liberty, although she desired to revisit her native country and to see her son once more, she had no wish to take upon herself again the cares of royalty, but would spend the remainder of her days in retirement with her relatives in France.[1] It is evident, from the confident terms in which she spoke of the affection of her son, that she had not the faintest suspicion at this time of the treachery of Gray, and of the secret overtures which he and James had made through Lord Hunsdon to Burghley.

Referring to this conversation between the Queen of

[1] Sadler's State Papers, ii. 389.

Scots and Somers, Mr Froude has expressed himself as follows: "She assured Somers, who was associated with Sadler in the charge of her, that she never heard of any enterprise intended upon the realm for her relief, nor as God should have her soul would she ever consent to anything that should trouble the State of which with all her heart she sought the quiet. In the midst of the negotiations which on these assurances had been opened in good faith for her release, she wrote by a sure hand to Sir Francis Englefield, in Spain, bidding him tell the Pope and Philip that she expected nothing from the treaty, but that in any case she desired the execution of the great plot and designment to go forward without respect of peril or danger to herself," &c.[1]

In the first place, Mr Froude has misled his readers as to the purport of the words he has quoted; and secondly, he has quoted them incorrectly. At the commencement of the conversation, Somers had informed Mary, as he says, that "an enterprise in England, tending for her liberty and increasing of her son's greatness, and so meant to come to her, hath both greatly offended her majesty and given her cause to think that she, the Scottish queen, is a party to that enterprise, whatsoever it is." Somers obviously referred to the rumour of some recent plot, and Mary replied, "*As to the enterprise you spoke of*, by my truth I knew not, nor heard anything of it," &c.[2] These were her words, according to the report of Somers. But by misquoting them Mr Froude has put into the queen's mouth a ridiculous falsehood. Instead of saying that she had never heard of the particular enterprise referred to by Somers, he makes her say, in general terms, she had

[1] Froude, xii. 39. [2] See letter of Somers; Sadler, ii. 389, 390.

never heard of *any enterprise* intended for her relief —as if both she and Somers had forgotten the rising of the northern lords, the conspiracy of Norfolk, and the various other attempts made on her behalf since her arrival in England.

Mr Froude has misled his readers upon another point. He would have them believe that at the time Mary was expressing herself in the most friendly terms to Somers, she was urging her partisans abroad to proceed with the execution of the great plot—namely, the invasion of England; and in proof of her duplicity, he refers to an alleged letter of Mary to Sir Francis Englefield, the date of which he does not give. But the letter, if written by Mary at all, was written upwards of two months after her conversation with Somers. It was on the 2d of September that she rode from Sheffield to Wingfield; the date of her alleged letter to Sir Francis Englefield was the 9th of November.

This letter, which is preserved in the Record Office in cipher, is said to have been intercepted; but as it is wholly inconsistent with the genuine letters written by Mary at this time, we are justified in suspecting that it was a fabrication of her enemies. We have undoubted proof that at the time when it purports to have been written she was, instead of despairing of the completion of the treaty, expressing to her most intimate friends a confident hope of the final success of the negotiations.

For some time past Walsingham had employed a person named Thomas Philipps[1] to intercept the correspondence of Mary and her friends. This man was

[1] Philipps appears to have been first employed in 1583.—See Record Office.

extremely expert in the art of deciphering; and as we have abundant proof that at a later period he tampered with the letters of the Scottish Queen, it is by no means improbable that the letter to Sir Francis Englefield is of his composition. Walsingham employed another important agent at this time to pry into the secrets of Mary's correspondence. This was Cherelles,[1] one of the secretaries of the French ambassador, who had sold himself to the English minister, and who supplied him from time to time with copies of the most important letters which passed to and from the Queen of Scots. Another agent of Walsingham at this time was the notorious Archibald Douglas. He had fled from Scotland, as we have seen, at the time of the arrest of his kinsman Morton, or he would certainly have shared his fate as an accomplice in the murder of Darnley. After his arrival in England he had professed himself a devoted partisan of Mary, but he was at this time in the pay of Walsingham. Douglas was an adept in forging and interpolating[2] letters, and therefore a most useful instrument in the hands of his employers.

At the present time Elizabeth seemed once more inclined to treat with her prisoner; but whether through accident or design, some fresh pretext was ever found for arresting the progress of the negotiations. It happened that in the autumn of this year Chrichton the Jesuit was captured while on a voyage to Scotland, and it is said that he was seen at the time to tear up a paper and throw the pieces into the

[1] Labanoff, vi. 26.

[2] See an instance in Labanoff, vi. 21, 22. Mary, in a letter to the Master of Gray, had warned him to beware of Archibald Douglas, but he inserted another name instead.

sea. Wonderful to relate, they were fished up again, and, being pasted together, were found to contain a plan for the invasion of England by the Duke of Guise. Such is the story which was told; and Chrichton, although Elizabeth was at peace with Scotland, was forthwith sent to the Tower, where on the rack he confessed whatever his tormentors wished.[1] The enemies of Mary once more sounded the alarm, and declared that the time had come when some additional precautions should be taken for the security of Elizabeth, whose life was thus exposed to a continued succession of conspiracies and plots.

There was nothing to justify this fresh outcry, for the papers found upon Chrichton, admitting them to be genuine, only told what was well known before. But as a new Parliament was about to meet in the autumn of this year, the enemies of Mary deemed the capture of the Jesuit a fitting prelude to the adoption of fresh measures of hostility against her. A bond of association was accordingly drawn up, it is said by Leicester, and adopted by the Council, the object of which was not only to exclude from the succession any person *by whom or for whom* any conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth was undertaken, but the subscribers bound themselves "in the presence of the eternal God, to prosecute such person or persons to the death."[2] This remarkable document, which was plainly intended to render the Queen of Scots responsible for the acts of others, even though committed without her knowledge, was signed by most of the principal nobility and gentry of England; by her enemies, because they sought her life; and by her friends, because their refu-

[1] Sadler, ii. 401. [2] See the Association in Murdin, 548.

sal might have involved them in unknown penalties and persecutions.

On the meeting of Parliament in December, this Bond of Association was embodied in a bill, but before passing both Houses it underwent several important alterations. The objectionable clause, which would have rendered Mary responsible for the acts of others, was struck out; and it was provided instead, that *any person* charged with plotting against the queen's life might be tried by a court of twenty-four commissioners to be named by the Crown. The sole object of the Act was to render the Scottish Queen amenable to the law of England; for the statute of treasons was sufficiently comprehensive, especially as interpreted in that age, to reach any offence of a treasonable nature committed by a subject.[1]

Notwithstanding these ominous proceedings, Elizabeth still professed her willingness to come to terms with Mary, and even consented that her French secretary, Nau, should come to London with proposals for a final arrangement of the long-pending treaty. Mary, upon her part, with irretrievably broken health, was ready to renounce everything, her religion and her rank excepted, for the recovery of her liberty. She was prepared, in short, to accede to all Elizabeth's demands, and even to sign the Bond of Association; and, if she desired it, she was willing to continue to reside in England as a hostage for the due performance of her engagements.[2]

Of the perfect sincerity of Mary in making these

[1] Statutes, 27 Elizabeth.

[2] See articles proposed by Nau; Record Office. They are printed in Labanoff, vi. 58.

proposals no rational doubt can be entertained. Her confidential letters written at the time to the Archbishop of Glasgow[1] and the French ambassador, show that she was anxious above all things to win the friendship of Elizabeth. Even Walsingham was satisfied.[2] He was of opinion that his mistress should accept her offers; and Walsingham knew more of Mary Stewart than any of his colleagues, for he had for years past been in the habit of intercepting and perusing her correspondence. We may add that Walsingham had profited much less by the Reformation than his friends. He had no vast estates like Burghley and Leicester and Bedford, which might possibly be placed in

[1] On 5th January 1585, she writes to the Archbishop of Glasgow, speaking of the treaty: "Je suis mise en meilleure espérance que jamais, et cependant asseurée de tout bon et favorable traictment je vous charge de signiffier à tous messieurs mes parents, et aultres mes amys et serviteurs par delà que je les prie tous, tant en commun que chascun d'eulx en particulier, de se départir de toutes pratiques et négotiations, si aulcunes ils en ont tendant au trouble de cest état; le bien repos et préservation duquel je veux préférer à tout contentment et advantaige pour moy mesme, me résolvant a l'advenir de me reposer principalment *sur l'amitié de la dicte Royne ma bonne soeur*," &c.—Labanoff, vi. 78. On 2d March 1585, she writes to Castelnau in the same strain: "Ma totale fiance est en la dicte Royne ma bonne soeur le bon natural de laquelle j'apercois et congnois de jour en jour par ses honorables procédures vers moy, *en ce que procède de son propre mouvement*."—Labanoff, vi. 103. Again, on the 26th March, she writes to Castelnau, referring to the completion of the treaty by Elizabeth: "Si il luy plaist m'accepter pour sienne telle que je désire vivre le reste de mes jours, je la veulx obéyr et servir fidèlement et sincèrement."—Labanoff, vi. 142. These letters are utterly inconsistent with the letter said to have been written to Sir Francis Englefield above referred to.

[2] Walsingham was satisfied with the offers of Mary even before Nau's visit to London. On the 17th October Walsingham wrote to Sadler: "I am, as I have been always, persuaded, that there should be some trial made of her offers, with such caution as she promiseth to give, *wherewith I see no cause but that her majesty should rest satisfied*."—Sadler State Papers, ii. 420. After Walsingham had so expressed himself, Mary made still more important concessions through Nau. In short, she conceded all that Elizabeth ever asked.

jeopardy by the accession of a Catholic sovereign to the throne. Walsingham, to his credit in this most corrupt age, lived and died a poor man; for although wholly unscrupulous as a minister, his private character was stainless.

From the silence of Burghley we may conclude that he and his friends were still opposed to the liberation of Mary; but it is highly probable that but for the treachery of the Master of Gray, their opposition would have been vain. That perfidious youth had arrived in London some weeks before Nau, in the double capacity of ambassador of James and confidential agent of his mother, through whose means she hoped that the long-projected association between her and her son would at length be concluded.[1] But Gray had formed a plan of his own, which involved at once the ruin of his friend Arran and the betrayal of his mistress. We have seen that the Council of England had secretly declared that instead of the proposed plan of the association between Mary and her son, it was desirable that a treaty should be concluded with her son alone;[2] and Gray, who no doubt had by this time ascertained their real wishes, resolved to be the instrument in carrying them out. He had coolly surveyed the state of parties both in Scotland and in England, and he concluded that he would best consult his own interest by promoting Burghley's scheme. To overthrow Arran without losing the favour of the king, and to sacrifice his mistress in the hope of gaining that of Elizabeth, such was the hazardous game he had to play. But Gray was equal to the task,

[1] Marie Stuart to Patrick Gray; Labanoff, vi. 70.
[2] *Ante*, p. 255.

and immediately on his arrival in London he set about it with an energy and an earnestness which took Elizabeth's ministers by surprise. They had received him, notwithstanding Hunsdon's letters, with considerable suspicion. His youth, his religion, his reputed devotion to the Scottish queen, were all calculated to inspire distrust. But he soon overcame their prejudices by the readiness with which he adopted and even anticipated their views; and, what is still more remarkable, he won the friendship of the virtuous and accomplished Philip Sidney.[1]

In spite of his address and his insinuating manners, Gray's treachery could not long be concealed. Mary's secretary soon discovered that, instead of proceeding with the plan of the association, he was negotiating the terms of a fresh treaty between Elizabeth and James, from which the Queen of Scots was to be excluded. Nau instantly acquainted his mistress with the alarming fact, which at first she could not credit. She could not believe in the treachery of Gray, who had ever professed the most profound devotion to her cause; still less could she believe in the desertion of her son. She wrote immediately to Gray,[2] expressing her surprise at the intelligence she had received. She reminded him that it was through her and her alone

[1] In a letter to Archibald Douglas from Sir Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brooke, is the following passage, written a few minutes after Sidney's death: "I am a stranger to the Master of Gray; but in honour of his memory that, while he lived, bare an honourable witness of his worth—I mean the prince of gentlemen, Sir Philip Sydney—I hope it shall be no trespass to present him love and honour by you. I pray you do it, and make me as much worth to him as you think good."—Lodge, ii. 296. See also a letter of Sir P. Sidney to Gray, in which he addresses him, "My most honoured brother."—Murdin, 557.

[2] Labanoff, vi. 72.

that her son derived his title to the crown of Scotland, and that it was more with a view to his interest than her own that she had consented to the projected treaty of association; that she could not believe in any change of sentiment on his part, for she had given him no cause of complaint; and notwithstanding the sinister tidings which had reached her, she trusted that without dissimulation or delay he would keep his plighted word like a true and obedient son. To James himself[1] she wrote much in the same strain; but while in this state of painful suspense she received another piece of unwelcome information. She was informed by her keepers, Sadler and Somers, that they had orders from the Council to remove her from Wingfield to Tutbury, where she had resided fifteen years before, and which was associated in her mind with many painful recollections. Mary was most unwilling to return to this dreary place, and she could not help associating the decision of the Council to send her thither with the suspicious conduct of Gray. But anxious at this time to conciliate Elizabeth at any sacrifice of personal feeling, she reluctantly consented to the change; and, accompanied by her keepers and her guards, she arrived on the 13th of January at her old quarters.[2]

It appears that they had been unoccupied since her

[1] Only a fragment of the letter remains.—See Labanoff, vi. 85.

[2] Two days were spent on the journey, as the roads were probably very bad. The party halted for the night at Derby, where Mary was lodged in the house of a widow lady, a Mrs Beaumont, who lived in the suburbs. Although Mary had abundant cause for anxiety at this time, she did not allow her private griefs to interfere with her habitual courtesy of manner. On the appearance of her hostess she kissed her, saying, playfully, "That she was come to trouble her, and that she also was a widow, and therefore trusted that they should agree well enough, having no husbands to trouble them."—Sadler, ii. 495.

last visit, and nothing could be more cheerless in the gloomy winter weather than the deserted aspect of the place. The rooms prepared for her use were miserably furnished, the walls discoloured with damp, and the doors and windows pervious to all the winds of heaven. Linen and bedding had to be borrowed from the houses of the neighbouring gentry, and the sleeping accommodation provided for her attendants was of the most wretched description. Mary had long been a martyr to rheumatism, and the exposed situation of Tutbury, standing on the summit of an abrupt eminence in the midst of a vast plain, soon told upon her health. Who suggested her removal to this the most wretched of all the prisons she occupied in England, does not appear; but we may assume that it was not Elizabeth, for when she heard of the real condition of the place she expressed the utmost indignation,[1] and gave peremptory orders that it should be properly furnished and repaired.

Meanwhile the Parliament, not satisfied with the severity of the existing laws against the Catholics, proceeded to enact measures of a still more rigorous kind. The pretended conspiracy of Arden, the confessions of Throgmorton, the capture of Chrichton, and the miraculously discovered evidence found upon him, were in the eyes of the zealots all conclusive proofs of the gigantic Popish plot, which had been hatched in Rome and in Madrid, for the overthrow of the true religion. They were clamorous, in spite of the persecutions of the last few years, for fresh penalties,

[1] She wrote to Sir R. Sadler expressing her anger at the persons "who have furnished Tutbury so basely, and thus given the Queen of Scots such just cause of complaint against her."—18th Feb. 1585; Record Office.

especially against the seminary priests; and in consequence of their agitation, a bill was introduced in the House of Commons which provided that, "If any clergyman born in the queen's dominions, and ordained by the authority of the Bishop of Rome, were found within the realm after the expiration of forty days, he should be adjudged guilty of high treason; that all persons aiding or receiving him should be guilty of felony; that whoever knew of his being in the kingdom, and did not discover him within twelve days, should be fined and imprisoned at the queen's pleasure; that all students in the Catholic seminaries who did not return within six months after proclamation to that effect, should be punished as traitors; that persons supplying them with money should incur a *premunire;* that parents sending their children abroad without licence should forfeit for every such offence one hundred pounds; and that children so sent should be rendered incapable of inheriting the property of their parents."[1]

On the third reading of this bill, Doctor William Parry, a Welshman, rose in his place and denounced it as a measure "full of blood, danger, and despair" to the queen's subjects.[2] Such freedom of speech was regarded as an insult both to the House and to the queen, and Parry was forthwith given into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. But he seemed to possess some mysterious influence over the queen, for she ordered him to be set at liberty next day. He resumed his seat accordingly, but in the course of a few weeks he was again arrested, and sent to the Tower on a charge of treason.

This man had once been employed by Lord Burghley

[1] Statutes, 27 Eliz. [2] D'Ewes, 340, 341.

as a spy, and, like the class to which he belonged, had long been bankrupt both in character and fortune. Although oppressed with debt, having by some means obtained a seat in Parliament, he had become a candidate for an appointment in the city of London which was in the gift of the Crown. The rejection of his application, it is said, led him to form a plan for killing the queen. After his apprehension he made various confessions, in one of which he stated that a countryman of his, named Thomas Morgan, instigated him to murder Elizabeth. As Morgan had been for some time in the service of the Queen of Scots, and was at this time the administrator of her property in France, her enemies gave, or affected to give, implicit credit to the allegation. Parry was eventually arraigned on a charge of treason, and although he pleaded guilty, there was produced in evidence against him a letter which he had written to Elizabeth, a production remarkable in itself, and still more remarkable for certain passages which it contained, and which were afterwards, on its publication, suppressed.

These passages are not only interesting in themselves, but they prove that Elizabeth's ministers freely tampered with documents which they gave to the world as genuine. The first suppressed passage relates to Morgan, and is as follows: "Your majesty may see that there is never a man more of our nation abroad or at home, privy to this cause, but Thomas Morgan, a Catholic gentleman, so beloved, trusted, and protected in France as you shall hardly be able to touch him by any ordinary course; that proof *depending upon his yea and my nay;* and having no letter or cipher of his wherewith to charge him, leave him therefore to

God and his amendment." Why this passage was struck out is obvious enough. In the first place, Parry spoke in the highest terms of the estimation in which Morgan was held in France; and, secondly, he admitted that he had no evidence against him beyond his own unsupported allegation.

Another suppressed passage in Parry's letter related to the persecution of the Catholics.

"Give some ease," he said, "to your Catholic subjects. Remember the rest of my letter, and you shall find that God will bless you, foreign princes esteem you, and your subjects obey you."

Another passage related to Spain, as follows: "The indignities past between your majesty and the king Catholic are many, and you have disquieted his state, maintained his rebels, and do bear with such as have robbed him and his subjects; many merchants are undone, some few are enriched, some bad humours pleased, and yourself dishonoured. It may cost you dear; look to it in time; there is possibility to repair all."

The letter published contained the following allusion to the Queen of Scots: "The Queen of Scots is your prisoner, let her be honourably entreated, but yet surely guarded."[1] The remainder of the passage relating to her was suppressed, namely: "She may do you good, she will do you no harm, if the fault be not English. Satisfy her reasonably in her keepers; it may else prove dangerous. It was well once, it cannot be bettered now; a new governor and a new guard may breed new doubts, impulsion may do harm. Please

[1] In the State Trials, i. 1104, and also in Holinshed, the passages here given are omitted. They are taken from Strype, who says he copied them himself from the original.—Strype, Annals, iii. Appen. 103.

yourself in this cause, it importeth you much; so long as it is well with her it is safe with you; when she is in fear you are not without peril; cherish and love her. She is of your blood, and your undoubted heir in succession. It is so taken abroad, and will be found so at home. The prince, her son, hath been ill handled by his subjects, troubled with inlet heretic practices, and often endangered in person; now you have him, protect him; he is your kinsman, and second saulty.[1] Last of all, forget the title of supreme governor; trouble none that refuse to swear it, for that cannot agree with your sex. Luther and Calvin did not allow it. The Puritans smile at it, and the Catholic world doth utterly condemn it.

"Remember your unfortunate Parry, chiefly overthrown by your own hand. Amend it in the rest of your servants, for it is past with me, if your grace be not greater than I look for. And lastly, and ever good madam be good to your obedient Catholic subjects; for the bad I speak not. From the Tower, 14th February."

Such were the passages in Parry's letter to the queen, which her ministers thought fit to suppress. There is, in fact, a mystery about this man's case which has never been explained. He seems to have pleaded guilty in the belief that his life would be spared. Whether any means were taken to induce him to acknowledge his guilt we do not know, but upon sentence of death being pronounced upon him, he exclaimed, "I here summon Queen Elizabeth to answer for my blood before God." He was executed in the horrible manner prescribed for the punishment of traitors.[2]

[1] *i. e.*, self.

[2] Sir Thomas Lucy (Shakespeare's Justice Shallow), had proposed in the

The accusation of Morgan by Parry, though unsupported by any kind of proof,[1] was, like the capture of Chrichton, immediately laid hold of by the enemies of Mary; and Elizabeth not only complained to her[2] on the subject, but she insisted in the most peremptory terms that the King of France should deliver up Morgan to her ambassador.[3] She was well aware that Henry, justly alarmed at the growing power of Guise and the Holy League, durst not quarrel with her at this time; and although he declined to comply with her demand, he sent Morgan to the Bastile.[4]

plenitude of his wisdom as "a Parliament member and justice of peace," that the House should proceed to devise some new law for the execution of Parry, "as may be thought fittest for his so extraordinary and most horrible kind of treason."—D'Ewes' Journal, 355. But Sir Thomas has left on the statute-book no specimen of his legislative skill in devising new kinds of torture. The existing law of treason was deemed severe enough even for Parry. On being turned off by the hangman he was immediately cut down and disembowelled alive. See the account of his execution in Strype, Annals, iii. 364. It is a curious fact that when Parry was acting as a spy of Burghley a year or two before, he informed him that the punishments inflicted on the English Catholics had created a strong sensation abroad; and as if in anticipation of his own fate, he recommended that the more revolting penalties attaching to treason should be discontinued. Writing from Venice in March 1582, he says: "The new book printed at Rome, dedicated to the Cardinal S. Sixti, and intituled *De persecutione Anglicana*, hath raised a barbarous opinion of our cruelty. I could wish that in those cases it might please her majesty *to pardon the dismembering and quartering.*"—Parry to Burghley; Wright, ii. 192.

[1] We have seen that, beyond the bare allegations of Parry, there was no evidence against Morgan. Mary declared that she thought him incapable of such a crime—Jebb, ii. 675; and she expressed the utmost horror at the design of Parry. Writing to Castelnau on the subject she says: "Quant à l'accident dernièrement survenu de ce malheureux homme Pari, je loue grandement Dieu de la grâce qu'il a faicte en cela à la dite Royne ma bonne sœur, d'avoir heureusement decouvert un si horrible et détestable desseing," &c.—Labanoff, vi. 109.

[2] Elizabeth to Mary; Record Office.

[3] Elizabeth to Henry III. and Catherine de Medici, 10th March; Record Office.

[4] Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, March 7th; ibid.

Mary was meanwhile spending a miserable winter in her gloomy prison at Tutbury. The place was not only cold and damp, but the drainage was found to be in so foul a state as to be highly dangerous to the health of the inmates. Sadler and Somers seem to have done everything in their power to alleviate the sufferings of their prisoner. Sir Ralph even invited her occasionally to ride out with him on hawking expeditions near the castle. But he was sharply reprimanded for his pains, and received strict injunctions that such indulgences were not to be repeated. The old knight, who had been acquainted with Mary from her infancy, pleaded in extenuation that she had never been at any time more than three miles distant from the castle, and that there was a body of attendants, well armed, always present. He significantly added, "Her majesty may be assured that if any danger had been offered, *or doubt suspected*, this queen's body should first have tasted of the gall."[1] We have here a curious picture. It appears that while Mary, with her keeper by her side, was watching the herons and the hawks from the banks of the peaceful Dove, a picked body of attendants were watching her, with strict injunctions to despatch her on the instant, should she either attempt to escape, or should any attempt be made for her deliverance.

Mary's dislike to her new abode was aggravated by a painful incident which happened shortly after her arrival. A young Catholic, who was confined as a prisoner in the castle on account of his religion, was compelled to join in the services along with Sir Ralph Sadler's servants. Day by day, Mary saw from the windows

[1] Sadler, ii. 538.

of her apartment the unfortunate man dragged forcibly across the courtyard of the castle to take part in ceremonies forbidden by his creed. Powerless to protect, she could only pity this unhappy victim of Protestant bigotry, who, rather than continue to do violence to his conscience, resolved to put an end to his existence.[1] He contrived in some way to strangle himself, and was found dead one morning in his cell.

The incident seems to have made a deep impression upon Mary. Perhaps, while compassionating the man whose sufferings and brutal treatment she had witnessed, she read in his tragical fate the prelude to her own. Everything indeed at this time seemed to indicate that a crisis was approaching. The obstinate silence of Elizabeth, the suspicious conduct of James, the now no longer doubtful treachery of Gray, and the additional rigours of her imprisonment, for which no reason was assigned, all told the same tale. But gloomy although her prospects were, it was not in Mary's nature to abandon herself to listless melancholy; and the case of the unhappy suicide at Tutbury induced her to address her sister queen, and to give her at the same time some wholesome advice on the subject of religious persecution.

As the most tolerant of European sovereigns, this was a subject upon which Mary had a right to speak. She pointed out to Elizabeth the dangerous amount of disaffection to which her persecution of the Catholics had given rise; and she reminded her further, that the earlier years of her reign, which were passed in tranquillity, were years of religious toleration.[2] Elizabeth knew all this as well as Mary, and she probably looked

[1] Mary to Elizabeth; Labanoff, vi. 152. [2] Labanoff, vi. 157.

back to those peaceful days with genuine regret. But her ministers had embarked her in a crusade against her Catholic subjects from which she could not now recede; and if the best test of statesmanship is success, it must be admitted that they were successful; for Protestantism was in the end as truly established in England by the terrors of the law, as it was suppressed in France by the power of the sword.

Still without tidings of her son, she yet hoped and trusted that he at least, in spite of Gray's treachery, would not abandon her. A letter from James himself at length put an end to her suspense. It contained a brief, cold, deadly message, framed without doubt by the arch-traitor Gray. The young king informed her that as she was a prisoner in a foreign country, he did not consider that she was in a position to enter into any association, "but that he should ever be prepared to recognise her as queen-mother."[1]

This was the bitterest hour of Mary's life. Through the long and dreary years of her captivity, even when her prospects were at the darkest, she was cheered by one ray of hope, and of that she trusted her enemies would never be able to deprive her. From the period of his boyhood her son and she had been on terms as affectionate as, under the very peculiar circumstances, could have been looked for. Now that he was a man, she fondly believed that he would prove the means of her deliverance. In this belief she had assented to the scheme of the association proposed by the French king. For this she had consented to the surrender of her crown, and of all her rights

1 Je vous ai toujours reconnue et reconnoitrai, ma vie durant, pour reine mère.—Addit. aux Mémoires de Castelnau, t. i. 637.

except the barren title of a queen; and now, in return for all the sacrifices she had made, and was willing still to make, for him, he coldly told her that he declined her offers, for she had nothing now to give. No one but Darnley's son could have sent her such a message; nor need we be surprised that in the first outburst of outraged affection she should have threatened him with a mother's curse.[1] She even appealed in her distress to the womanly sympathies of her rival. But menaces and prayers were alike unavailing to avert the greatest of all the calamities that had yet befallen her.

[1] Mary to Castelnau, 12th March; Labanoff, vi. 126.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LEAGUE BETWEEN ELIZABETH AND JAMES—INTERVENTION IN THE NETHERLANDS.

Gray had meanwhile returned to Scotland with a sum of money for the king, as an earnest of the pension which, when the treaty was concluded, Elizabeth had promised him. The young diplomatist had succeeded even beyond his expectations. By his desertion of his mistress he had won the confidence of Elizabeth, and through his influence over James he had brought about a fatal breach between him and his mother. But the most dangerous part of Gray's task yet remained. Arran was still the king's first favourite, and like to prove a formidable adversary to any one who ventured to assail him. Arran, moreover, having received no definite reply to his overtures to Elizabeth, had since offered his services to the Queen of Scots.[1] Here was a serious obstacle in Gray's path, and how to remove it was the question he had now to solve. The most obvious plan of dealing with Arran was, in the language of the day, to "let slip" the banished lords against him; for Angus, Mar, Glammis, and the Hamiltons were all his mortal enemies. But James

[1] See Mary's letter to her son of 5th January 1585; Labanoff, vi. 85.

was obstinately opposed to their restoration, as well on account of Arran as upon that of their religion. Angus and Mar were both strict Presbyterians; and if they were pardoned, the like favour could hardly be denied to Andrew Melvill and the other ministers who had accompanied them in their flight to England; and Elizabeth herself did not more cordially detest the Presbyterian form of worship than did her godson of Scotland.

Arran was too keen-sighted not to suspect that Gray intended mischief, and his suspicions were strengthened by the arrival of an ambassador from England, with whom the new favourite seemed to be upon most intimate terms. Sir Edward Wotton, Elizabeth's new envoy, had been sent to Scotland to conclude the projected league with James. He was authorised to promise him a pension, and in the mean time he brought him a present of valuable horses from the royal stables,[1] and a pack of buckhounds of a superior breed. James was delighted with the horses and the dogs, as well as with the new ambassador, who was young, witty, and agreeable, and, what James valued still more, devoted to field-sports[2] of every kind. While the young king

[1] Calderwood, iv. 372, says that Wotton brought with him, besides horses, "with their furniture, three score or four score couple of hounds, with which the king passed his time all that summer;" Wodrow edition.

[2] A ludicrous instance of James's devotion to the chase is related at this time. One day, after an unusually hard run, he called for a cup of wine, and drank to all his hounds; and, taking the paw of a favourite named Tell True, he thus addressed him: "Tell True, I drink to thee above all my hounds; and sooner trust thy tongue than either Craig or the Bishop." Craig was the royal chaplain, and the Bishop was Montgomery of Glasgow. The incident was reported, probably with much exaggeration, to the banished ministers, who expressed great surprise and sorrow at the king's profanity.—Tytler, viii. 224, and Calderwood.

was thus employed, Wotton and Gray were busily planning the ruin of the favourite. Gray soon made up his mind upon the matter. He thought the simplest and the safest plan was murder. The English envoy was at first somewhat staggered by this proposal, but his scruples were overcome by the arguments of Gray. A man had been found who was ready to undertake the business, and who was recommended for the purpose by no less a personage than the chief criminal judge in Scotland, the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden. The volunteer assassin was a gentleman by birth named Douglas, and he had a secret interview with Wotton on the subject, which the latter described in a ciphered despatch to Walsingham and Leicester. Although during the interview the English envoy took care not to commit himself or his superiors, it is clear that he led Douglas to understand that neither he nor they regarded with disapproval the projected murder. "In general speeches," said Wotton, "I told him that your honours were personages that had him in special recommendation. I told him I would make relation of the matter to your honours; and he said he would write himself to Mr Secretary; and so praying me, if I did write aught, to commit his name to cipher, he departed."[1]

But before any definite steps were taken in the matter, an incident occurred on the Border, which for a time threw all into confusion. At a meeting between the Wardens of the Middle Marches, Sir John Foster and Ker of Fernihirst, a quarrel arose from some trifling cause between their respective followers. Some lives were lost, and Lord Russell, the eldest son

[1] Calig., c. viii. fol. 195; letter of 1st June 1585.

of the Earl of Bedford, who happened to be present as the guest of Foster, was killed. There is every reason to believe that his death was unpremeditated; and such was the opinion of Foster himself.[1] But Walsingham instantly saw in this unhappy incident a means of overthrowing Arran without resorting to the dangerous scheme of Gray. Fernihirst, like most of the Border chiefs, had been throughout his life a stanch adherent of the Scottish queen. But he was also the friend of Arran, and an excellent opportunity had now occurred for effecting the ruin of both these powerful men. Foster was accordingly instructed to give another version[2] of the affair, and to assert that the death of Lord Russell was preconcerted. Elizabeth then demanded that both Arran and Fernihirst should be sent to Carlisle, and there tried for the murder.[3] James, who had exhibited extreme grief on hearing of Lord Russell's death, refused to send the suspected noblemen to England, but he caused them both to be arrested, and ordered an immediate inquiry into the charges made against them, and which were apparently unfounded. No motive, indeed, can be suggested why either Arran or Fernihirst should have sought the life of Lord Russell. Gray, meanwhile, seems to have meditated some fresh piece of treachery, for he most unexpectedly appeared as the friend of Arran, who through his means was allowed to leave the Castle of St Andrews, where he had been imprisoned, and to retire to his own house at Kinneil.[4] This conduct of Gray, who had no doubt been bribed

[1] Foster to Walsingham; B. C., Record Office, July 28.
[2] Wotton to Walsingham, July 31; Record Office.
[3] Wotton to Walsingham, July 29 and 30; ibid.
[4] Tytler, viii. 228.

for the occasion, rendered him an object of extreme suspicion, and he seems to have hesitated at this time whether or not he should desert his English patrons and form a close alliance with the still all-powerful favourite, of whom he had all along professed himself to be the friend. But he finally resolved, apparently after consulting his countryman Archibald Douglas,[1] to proceed with his original design. As the scheme of the murder had been abandoned, there was, in his opinion, only one other mode of overthrowing Arran, and that was by restoring the banished lords and forcing the king to part with his favourite. So long as he retained his power it was hopeless to expect the conclusion of the much-desired league, which was intended to create a lasting breach between the young king and his mother. Arran had now espoused her cause, and had opened up a correspondence with the Duke of Guise and her other friends in France; and as James would neither consent to part with his favourite nor to restore the rebel lords, it was necessary to resort to force to compel him to do both.

Walsingham, who had all along been in favour of this scheme, and who was in constant communication with Archibald Douglas, now desired Wotton to co-operate with Gray in effecting their common purpose, and gave notice to Angus and his friends to move northwards with as much secrecy as possible.[2] Lord Maxwell, the most powerful nobleman on the Border, had been gained over by Gray by the promise of a handsome share of Arran's vast estates.[3] Arran mean-

[1] See Gray's letter to Douglas, Cotton MSS.; Calig., c. viii. 222.

[2] Tytler, viii. 238.

[3] Lord Maxwell had now been created Earl of Morton; but, to prevent confusion, his original title is preserved throughout.

while was not idle. He saw that the inevitable struggle between him and his enemies was fast approaching, and he resolved with characteristic promptitude to strike the first blow. Although he was, nominally at least, a prisoner in his own house, his friend Colonel Stewart accused Wotton to his face, and in presence of the king, of his intended treachery. Wotton gave him the lie; but hearing that the king intended to arrest him, he made a precipitate flight to Berwick, as his predecessor Randolph had done for similar reasons on more than one occasion.[1]

At Berwick, Wotton found Angus and the other outlawed nobles, accompanied by the banished ministers, preparing to enter Scotland.[2] As soon as this alarming intelligence reached Arran he hurried to Stirling, where the king then was, and implored him to arrest the Master of Gray, who, he declared, was the author of the whole conspiracy. Gray was at the time in the neighbouring county of Fife, and on receiving a summons from the king, was placed in a most dangerous dilemma. To disobey the order was treason; to obey it was to place himself in Arran's power. But trusting to his influence over the king, and to the speedy advance of his confederates from the south, he resolved to run the risk of returning to Court, and rode to Stirling accompanied by his friends. Notwithstanding all that had passed, he was so favourably received, that it is said to have been Arran's intention to have stabbed him in the king's presence.[3] But this design, if he ever entertained it, was frustrated by the rapid

[1] Calderwood, iv. 380.

[2] Calderwood, iv. 381. Wotton to Elizabeth, 15th Oct.; Record Office.

[3] Papers relating to the Master of Gray, published by the Bannatyne Club, p. 59.

movements of Angus and his friends, who, being joined by Lord Maxwell at Falkirk, advanced upon Stirling with a body of eight thousand men. Wholly unprepared to resist such a force, Arran fled on their approach, and the king found himself once more in the hands of the faction which three years before had made him a prisoner at Ruthven Castle. James had now a difficult part to play, and he seems to have played it to perfection. Although in reality a prisoner in the hands of Angus and his friends, he affected to treat them as penitent subjects who sought to be restored to the royal favour; and as they only desired to regain their forfeited estates and titles, they were content through Gray's intervention to make their submission to the king, who upon his part was willing to forget the past, and even to declare that the enterprise they had brought to so triumphant an issue, had been undertaken in his service.[1]

Gray hastened to apprise Elizabeth of the complete success of the plot, and advised her to send an ambassador to Scotland without loss of time to conclude the projected treaty.[2] But before his advice could be followed, the Court of France made a final effort to induce James to revive the old alliance between the two kingdoms. The complete success of Angus and the English faction at length roused the jealousy of Henry. Castelnau, who had now returned to France, and whose efforts on behalf of Mary had been so fatally thwarted by the miserable policy of Catherine, supported the king to the utmost of his power. But Henry moved too late. Had he sought in earnest to

[1] Papers relating to the Master of Gray, p. 60.
[2] Master of Gray to Walsingham, Nov. 6; Record Office.

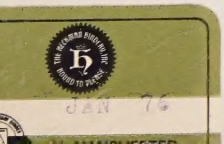
carry out the plan of the association between Mary and her son, which he had been the first to propose, Elizabeth would have found it impossible to withhold her consent. But all hope of this arrangement was now gone; and in Henry's instructions[1] to the Baron d'Esneval, whom he now sent as ambassador to Scotland, Mary's name was not even mentioned. We may probably ascribe to the influence of Catherine this significant omission.

D'Esneval found the king at Falkland, devoted as usual to his horses and hounds. The leaders of the late revolution were not at Court, but the French ambassador shrewdly suspected that the king was surrounded by their creatures although they themselves resided on their own estates.[2] James received his uncle's envoy with every demonstration of respect; but he soon discovered that Henry had no presents to give and no offers to make. He could only remind his nephew, with many professions of attachment, that the alliance between France and Scotland was of very ancient standing, and that old and tried friends were to be preferred to new ones.[3]

Elizabeth had promised him, on the other hand, a handsome pension in lieu of the Lennox estates, and had led him to believe that she intended him to be her successor. Shortly after receiving Gray's message she had sent her relative, William Knowles, on a special mission to James, and he reported so favourably of the state of affairs,[4] and of the friendly disposi-

[1] See his instructions, 15th December 1585; Cheruel, p. 358.
[2] Memoire par M. d'Esneval au roy; Cheruel, p. 376.
[3] Henri III. à M. d'Esneval; Cheruel, p. 364.
[4] Knowles to Walsingham; Record Office, Nov. 24th.

139


JAN 76